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# China Report

RED FLAG,

No. 4, 16 FEBRUARY 1986

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CHINA REPORT  
RED FLAG  
No 4, 16 FEBRUARY 1986

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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MAKE DECISIONS PROMPTLY AND CARRY THEM OUT RESOLUTELY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 86 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] In our effort to build spiritual civilization and improve the party style and social mood, it is necessary to start with grasping concrete cases. It is especially necessary for us to break through all kinds of obstacles and firmly grasp the investigation and handling of major and serious cases in which senior cadres and their children are involved. The great majority of our senior cadres and their children are good, but in the new situation, there are actually some who have failed in resisting the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and have been involved in unhealthy tendencies. Some have even violated discipline and the law and committed crimes. The broad masses of people are paying a good deal of attention to whether these cases are seriously handled. But for quite some time in the past, some indisputable cases were left unsettled after being investigated over and over again for years with the approval of the relevant departments at various levels. Apart from the bureaucratic work style of some leading organs and their failure to resolutely deal with the criminal cases, the main reason was that some leading comrades forsook principles for personal feelings. They were irresolute and soft-hearted and even shielded each other, thus placing obstacles in the path of investigating and handling the relevant cases. If this situation is not resolutely changed, straightening out the party style will become empty words in these areas and units.

Now the CPC Central Committee is determined to vigorously deal with criminal cases starting with the central organs and Beijing municipality. As to those who have violated party discipline and state laws, the higher the position of the cadres and their children, the more they should be investigated and dealt with seriously, because their problems have greater harm and influence and earnestly handling their cases will produce a greater impact. At present, are there not many people who are apprehensive that our work to improve the party style will be done perfunctorily and superficially? By firmly, resolutely, and timely investigating and dealing with major and serious cases, we mean to show the people throughout the country with our real action that we are determined to overcome all obstacles to building spiritual civilization and that our party is adhering to the principled stand of proceeding in all cases from the interests of the people and is open and aboveboard. Thus, the

masses of people will naturally have more confidence in the fundamental improvement of the party style and social mood.

It is necessary to make prompt decisions and carry them out resolutely in investigating and dealing with major and serious cases. As soon as the main problems of a case are clarified through investigation, it is necessary to handle the case immediately. We must never be soft-hearted in dealing with cases of violating criminal law but must deal with them firmly and resolutely in accordance with the law. Only in this way can we save a number of cadres. Of course, we still will not launch a mass movement in this regard. In order to check unhealthy tendencies, we must be both resolute and persevering. When we emphasize resoluteness and promptness, we mean to correct the past style of irresoluteness and hesitation, and by no means mean to encourage crudeness and rashness. While investigating and handling criminal cases, we must at all times act in accordance with the facts and the law. We must draw a clear line of demarcation between right and wrong and deal with each case on its merits. The mistakes committed due to the imperfect rules and regulations and inexperience in the course of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy should be strictly distinguished from the criminal offenses of taking advantage of the reform to practice graft, engage in smuggling and speculation, and seek private gain. As to those who have committed ordinary mistakes, they are just required to make a self-criticism and correct their mistakes. If leading cadres at various levels, especially senior leading cadres, are involved in unhealthy tendencies themselves, they must examine their mistakes of their own accord and resolutely correct them. If their relatives or children have violated the law and discipline, they must take a firm and clear-cut attitude and resolutely assist discipline inspection and judicial departments in dealing with the cases seriously in accordance with party discipline and state laws. All leading cadres should set a good example in this respect so that they may become "honest and upright leaders." They should also educate their children so that their children may become models in carrying forward the party's fine traditions and in observing discipline.

Both historical experiences and the reality at present have repeatedly told us that in the construction of the four modernizations, we must pay attention to both the construction and the legal system, including party discipline and state laws. We must never waver and slacken our efforts in the construction of the modernizations with one heart and one mind, in implementing the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, and in continuing the reform, so as to rapidly develop the social productive forces. On the other hand, we must adhere to the four basic principles and do a good job in the construction of spiritual civilization. We must never slacken our efforts in this respect either. Without the people's democratic dictatorship, we will not be able to maintain a political situation of stability and unity in our society and will not be able to achieve successes in our modernizations drive. Without a good party style and social mood, we will not be able to carry out our reform and construction smoothly. Moreover, if we allow bad tendencies to develop, the productive forces will be destroyed and the entire economy will be affected.

This is what we should avoid and can avoid. Therefore, we must pay attention to both things rather than one thing. Provided we really grasp the matter firmly, the party style and social mood will surely be changed for the better and the construction of both civilizations will surely be greatly promoted.

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## RECTIFICATION OF PARTY STYLE SHOULD START WITH LEADING CADRES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 86 pp 3-7

[Article by Li Xuezhi [2621 1331 2535], secretary of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regional CPC Committee]

[Text] Placing the rectification of party style in a very prominent position is an important task the National Conference of Party Delegates set for the entire party. It is also a task of top priority in Ningxia's work. Leading cadres at various levels are decisive factors in implementing the party's line, principles, and policies. Therefore, changing the style of leading cadres is the crux of rectifying party style and realizing a turn for the better in party style.

Leading cadres' unhealthy style will harm the image of the party among the people and undermine the relationship between the party and the masses. The people are the creators of history, and the socialist cause is the cause of millions upon millions of people. The socialist cause will develop smoothly only when the initiative of the people is brought into full play. The quality of party style determines the will of the people, and the will of the people determines whether the socialist cause will succeed or fail. If leading cadres forget the party's aim and are divorced from the people, the party will lose its prestige as well as the people's trust and support.

Leading cadres' unhealthy style will ruin party members and cadres and corrupt social values. Leading cadres at various levels are the vanguards of party members and the masses. The quality of their ideological, work, and life styles greatly impacts on the departments and units they lead. Ningxia's experience has fully proven this. In a unit with a good party style, a healthy atmosphere prevails in which leaders play an exemplary role, are honest in performing their official duties, do not seek personal gain, and are bold in fighting evil trends. In a unit with an unhealthy party style, although problems manifest themselves at the lower levels, the root cause lies in the leading cadres of the unit. Their unhealthy style helps foster evil trends and therefore gives rise to a situation in which "unhealthy trends at the lower levels are difficult to rectify because the higher authorities are infested with evil habits."

Leading cadres' unhealthy style will relax party discipline, harm reforms, and cause delay in the "four modernizations" drive. The reforms we are currently carrying out are great, arduous, and complicated projects involving various social spheres, touching on the interests of people in various fields, and bringing about great changes in the political and economic structures of the entire society as well as in the life-style and mental status of the people. In this situation, comrades of the whole party should keep abreast of the CPC Central Committee and have unity of ideology and action. In particular, party-member cadres responsible for leadership at various levels should strengthen their sense of discipline and keep their words and actions within the bounds of party discipline. Otherwise, reforms will suffer setbacks and socialist modernization will be empty talk.

Leading cadres' unhealthy style will affect people's faith in communism. Communism is an ideal social system as well as the movement followed by millions upon millions of people. In this movement, every leading cadre of the party is responsible for organizing, guiding, and uniting the people in their march forward. To strengthen the people's faith in communism and to enable them to follow the party wholeheartedly, it is not enough just to carry out education in communist ideals.

Party members, and in particular the party's leading cadres at various levels, should influence and bring along the masses by setting good examples. If party members and leading cadres have a healthy style and the spirit of dedication to the communist cause, the people will love the party, support the party, and follow the party step by step toward communism. If party members and leading cadres are not as good as their word, talking about communism but engaging in other "isms," the people will doubt whether we are building communism and will waver in their faith in communism.

Over the last few years, party organizations at all levels in Ningxia have done a great deal of work in keeping with the instructions of the CPC Central Committee on rectifying party style, and a turn for the better has been noticed in the style of party members and leading cadres. The party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts is being further implemented, attention is being paid to doing things in the light of specific conditions, and the good habit of carrying out investigations at the grass-roots level is being gradually formed. Guiding principles for professional work have been made more explicit and a good situation has emerged in which people have wholeheartedly engaged in reforms and the "four modernizations." Inner-party life is returning to normal: More and more party members are willing to accept supervision by the masses, and the number of "privileged party members" is declining. More and more party members are bold in airing different views and are no longer in the habit of criticizing others without reason. More and more members of leading groups can understand and support each other and are no longer counteracting each other's efforts, and more and more leading cadres can persist in collective leadership and are beginning to discard the practice of "what I say goes." Factionalism left over from the "Great Cultural Revolution" has been basically eliminated. The practice of classifying people according to factionalism is finding less and less of a market, and misunderstandings arising from the past as a result of factionalism are beginning to disappear.

However, we should soberly understand that there are still quite a number of problems with the style of some party members and leading cadres in our region--some are very serious. These problems manifest themselves as follows: First, their sense of organization and discipline is weak. Some party members and leading cadres make irresponsible remarks on the party's principles and policies, and others even spread dissatisfaction among the masses. Some implement the party's principles and policies as they like and according to their needs, and others overtly agree with and covertly oppose the party's principles and policies, keeping in mind "you have your policy and I have my countermeasures." With regard to major problems such as wages and prices, they refuse to follow instructions. Second, their bureaucratic style is serious. They forget that they are servants of the people, refuse to listen to the opinions of the masses, and do not concern themselves with the problems of the masses. Some shirk responsibility, like to argue over trifles, do not pay attention to work efficiency, and perform their duties perfunctorily. Some like to seek undeserved fame and are fond of paying lip service and talking big. Some refuse to make profound investigations, thinking that they "have firm determination and many methods although they do not have a good understanding of the situation." Some like to live an idle life and muddle through their duties, causing serious political and economic losses to the party and the state. Third, their individualism has expanded. They use the powers bestowed on them by the people to recklessly seek gains for themselves, their children, and their relatives. Thinking that the party has treated them unfairly, some ask the party for promotions, more power, and better pay and living conditions, and they will grumble and be in low spirits if their demands are not met. Some seek ease, comfort, and personal privileges, go in for ostentation and extravagance, contend for going abroad, and use public funds for visiting scenic spots. Some take bribes, engage in illegal business, and copy, show, and disseminate obscene videotapes, thus embarking on the criminal road. Fourth, they are strongly influenced by philistine habits. With the mentality of "sparing others' feelings so that others will do oneself a favor," they skirt around problems, make no comment on controversies, turn a blind eye to what has gone wrong, and play the role of yes-men. Some seize the chance to curry favor with their superiors for promotions or transfers. Some lay too much emphasis on sensibilities to the neglect of party spirit, are particular about kinship, rush to do whatever is advantageous to them, shrink from examining cases, harbor evildoers, and bend the law for the benefit of their relatives. This provides umbrellas for evil trends and criminal activities.

Many factors have caused the above problems: 1) Liberalism and anarchism left over from the "Great Cultural Revolution" have not been thoroughly eliminated; 2) in the new situation of opening up to the world and enlivening the domestic economy, ideological and political work has been relaxed and the bourgeois ideology of "putting money above everything else" has corrupted the souls of some cadres; 3) in the course of reforms, some regulations have not been made perfect and no clear demarcation is available with regard to the application of some policies, and this enables some people to avail themselves of loopholes for their own benefit; 4) over the past few years, quite a number of departments and units have overlooked ideological and political work, relaxed the work of giving ideological education to party members and cadres, and

abolished organs for ideological and political work so that the problem of the party not paying enough attention to party work still remains unsolved; and 5) some party members are not firm enough in rectifying unhealthy tendencies, saying much but doing little. Many of them are soft as "mud" and not tough as "iron," in particular toward problems involving leading cadres. In most cases, they hesitate about what to do and turn big problems into small problems and small problems into no problem at all. Finally, everything ends up with nothing definite.

Party and nonparty cadres and the masses have made a lot of comments on party style and the style of leading cadres. Their views are not identical. Some hold that party style has turned for the better as a result of party rectification, but others maintain that problems are becoming increasingly serious because party rectification is being carried out perfunctorily. We should have a practical understanding and appraisal of their views and should not be biased toward either side. Being excessively worried about the negative aspects of our problems will reduce our confidence in bringing about a turn for the better in party style, whereas underestimating our problems will hamper us in making progress.

We should say that the main aspect of the style of leading cadres at various levels in Ningxia is good. Only a small number of them go in for unhealthy practices. However, the influence exerted by these unhealthy practices is very bad and the masses have a lot of complaints about this small number of leading cadres. This point merits close attention. Not long ago, we studied and discussed the important speeches made by some central leading comrades at the meeting of cadres of central organs. We also analyzed the present state of party style in Ningxia and deeply felt as follows: To change the masses' conduct, it is necessary to change the style of leading cadres. The settlement of this problem allows no delay. To solve this problem, efforts should be made in the fields of ideology, work style, organization, and discipline.

In ideology, it is necessary to further strengthen the study of Marxist theory and the party's principles and policies. In the final analysis, the problem concerning the style of leading cadres is a problem of world outlook. If leading cadres want to fundamentally change their style, they must firmly establish a dialectical and historical materialist world outlook. At the National Conference of Party Delegates, Comrade Deng Xiaoping set new demands on the entire party, and in particular on leading cadres at various levels, in studying Marxism. This is a strategic measure for building the party and bringing about a turn for the better in party style. In the course of party rectification, we have organized the vast number of party-member cadres to study the scientific theses of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We have fundamentally negated the theory of "continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship," negated factions left over from the "Great Cultural Revolution," abolished factionalism, and strengthened party spirit. As a result, work in Ningxia has taken on a new look and an excellent situation has arisen in which the Hui and Han nationalities are united, relationships with other provinces are lively, and production is developing rapidly. Our cause is developing, the situation is changing, and new problems keep emerging in the course of reforms. All this requires us to engage in constant study.

Since the National Conference of Party Delegates, we have been perfecting the study system of the regional CPC committee standing committee. We have resumed the activities of the regional report group and paid attention to the work of forming study centers for leaders at the county level or above. In the course of carrying out regular theoretical education among cadres, we will spend 3 years giving rotational training to cadres at the county departmental level or above, so that they can engage in a concentrated study of the basic knowledge of Marxism, the theory on building the party, and the CPC Central Committee's principles and policies. This will lay a solid ideological foundation for changing the style of leading cadres and realizing a fundamental turn for the better in party style.

Insofar as changing leadership style is concerned, leading cadres should earnestly practice what they advocate and should take the lead in doing so. In Ningxia, there are 164,000 party members and 4,000 party-member leading cadres at the county departmental level or above. If each of them can take the lead in changing his style, the higher authorities can bring along the level levels, the masses can help the leaders, and a turn for the better in party style can be expected soon. Over the last 3 years, we have achieved marked results in rectifying party style, as the regional CPC committee has taken the lead in this work. The mobilization meeting of the central organs on the rectification of party style, which was held not long ago, set higher demands on us, and this helps strengthen our confidence in correcting party style. Members of the Standing Committee unanimously expressed their views as follows: They will follow the "criteria for inner-party political life" in their words and deeds, consciously accept supervision by the masses, and set strict demands on both themselves and their children. They and their relatives must be able to do what they request others to do and must promise not to do what they ask others not to do and they will boldly criticize, stop, and correct any unhealthy trend in the Standing Committee. Only in this way, will they be able to take the lead in rectifying party style.

In the field of organization and discipline, it is necessary to strengthen party discipline and to resolutely examine and deal with the unhealthy practices of some leading cadres. Production has developed and the people's livelihood has improved by a large margin. This is obvious to all. However we can feel that the masses still have complaints about the corrupt style of some leading cadres. To rehabilitate the image of the party among the masses and to settle the masses' complaints, we must seriously check and deal with the unhealthy practices of some leading cadres. At the beginning of the first stage of party rectification, we followed the plan of the central authorities and dealt with a number of cases in which some leading cadres abused power for personal gain, practiced bureaucratism, took bribes, and indulged in extravagance. A cadre at the provincial level, 3 cadres at the provincial bureau level, and 13 cadres at the county departmental level were given party or administrative disciplinary penalties or punished according to the law. This helped reduce unhealthy tendencies, and the masses were pleased with the situation. But by the end of 1984, new unhealthy tendencies emerged in which bonuses were issued at will, charges and prices were raised arbitrarily, and fines were imposed recklessly. As we failed to fully estimate the serious consequences of these tendencies, did not have specific

policies and measures to follow, and did not seriously deal with the problems which had arisen among leading cadres, we could not promptly and effectively stop and correct these new unhealthy tendencies. Recently, the regional CPC committee standing committee summed up the lessons in this respect and decided to make great efforts to stop unhealthy tendencies among leading cadres of bureaus and departments in organs directly under the regional authorities, so that these organs can set a good example for the entire region in correcting party style. In examining unhealthy tendencies, we must resolutely get rid of kinship and stand up against the habit of interceding for evil-doers. Major cases must be thoroughly examined and dealt with, no matter who is involved. Leaders of departments and units where evil trends are rampant should be held responsible for the emergence and consequences of such trends.

In work methods, emphasis must be laid on making investigations and studies on the realities of life and on establishing close ties with the masses. We stress that every year leading cadres at the county departmental level or above must spend one-fourth of their time making investigations and studies at the grass-roots level. Last year alone, organized, large-scale investigations were conducted on three occasions. At the beginning of last year, responsible comrades of the regional CPC committee and government led 126 leading cadres at the regional departmental level and above in conducting a 6-month survey of the situation and problems in economic structural reform throughout the region. This laid a foundation for the overall carrying out of urban economic structural reform. By the end of last year, the regional CPC committee standing committee organized 5,500 party and government cadres to disseminate the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates and to conduct an examination on party style and party discipline. They appropriately handled the problems they discovered in the course of the examination. In addition, members of the standing committee personally handled letters the people sent in and complaints they made. In 1985, the secretaries of the regional CPC committee standing committee personally treated some 1,000 letters sent in by the masses.

"A big mountain is not formed with one rock; a large mansion needs the support of solid columns." Bringing about a turn for the better in party style requires the efforts of the entire party, and in particular of party-member leading cadres. Now the CPC Central Committee is expecting us to realize a turn for the better in party style and people outside the party are focusing their attention on us. We should take action and make contributions to bring about a turn for the better in party style. Only in this way, will we live up to the expectations and trust of the party and people and be worthy of the glorious title of Communist Party member.

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## ACT UNSWERVINGLY IN LIGHT OF THE OVERALL SITUATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 86 pp 6-9

[Article by Zhang Zhixiu [1728 9455 4423]; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] At a meeting of the Central Military Commission, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: The party, the government, the Army, and the people of the whole country should obey, show concern for, closely cooperate with, and act in light of the overall situation in our country's construction. This important ideology is the code of conduct to be observed by the whole party, the whole Army, and the people of the whole country, and is also the fundamental guiding ideology in doing the various types of work in our Army. Conscientiously implementing this guiding ideology and ideologically and politically maintaining a high degree of unity with the CPC Central Committee will enable the reform, simplification, and reorganization of our Army to be carried out smoothly.

TO ACT IN LIGHT OF THE OVERALL SITUATION MEANS TO PUT THE INTERESTS OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE FIRST. To vigorously carry out the economic construction is the most pressing concern of the party, the government, the Army, and people throughout the country. To carry out the reform, simplification, and reorganization of the Army and reduce the troops by 1 million is beneficial to our country's economic construction and the modernization of our country as well as to world peace. This also shows that the Army is acting in light of the overall situation. Economic construction is the material basis of the construction of national defense. Only when economic construction has achieved marked successes will we be able to improve the quality of our Army's weaponry and equipment and realize the modernization of our national defense forces. So, to act in light of our country's overall economic construction situation means to be subordinate to the fundamental interests of the party and the people and to the long-term interests of our Army construction.

The reform, simplification, and reorganization of the Army is a major reform in our military history, for it involves a wide range of sectors. As far as the units are concerned, some will be consolidated, disbanded, downgraded, or streamlined while others will be placed under the jurisdiction of the local authorities. As far as the personnel are concerned, they will either be urged to leave or stay, be promoted or downgraded, or be transferred or

retired, and so on. All units and comrades will be urged to be subordinate to the overall situation. The decision to simplify and reorganize the troops has been made according to overall strategic arrangements for future wars against aggression and to the present needs of our Army construction. In the past, we carried out numerous reforms, simplifications, and reorganizations of the structure of our troops. In all previous Army reorganizations, officers and soldiers of our Army attached utmost importance to our Army structure by subordinating the part to the whole and the individual to the collective. This is also a good tradition of our Army. In the recent reform, simplification, and reorganization of our Army structure, some of the comrades in our former Kunming Military Region felt at the very beginning that the change in the leading body was too big and the shift in ideology too fast. But, once the CPC Central Committee and Central Military Commission's order on troop reorganization was relayed and explanations were given, all the comrades became consciously subordinate to the overall situation, happily accepted arrangements made by the party and resolutely carried out the order of the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission. All these have shown that our Army is an army which is under absolute party leadership and which serves the people heart and soul. Our Army is a highly concentrated and unified combat collective with a strong concept of viewing the situation as a whole, able to withstand any test under any circumstance.

Being subordinate to the overall situation means, in the final analysis, to correctly deal with relations between individual interests and state interests and relations between present interests and long-term interests. Generally speaking, the fundamental interests of the party and the people and the long-term interests of the state and the Army consist of everyone's specific interests. But, under certain circumstances, on some specific questions, there might be contradictions between individual interests and the state interests and between present interests and long-term interests. When such contradictions arise, leaders at various levels should try their best to properly solve them. As far as individuals are concerned, they must temporarily sacrifice some of their individual interests and present interests for the fundamental interests of the party and the people and the long-term interests of the state and the Army. For instance, in the process of the reorganization, quite a few comrades might find their positions downgraded and their salaries lowered, might have to endure separations from their wives or husbands or their children, and might have difficulties in finding schools. When solving these problems, we should conscientiously study Comrade Hu Yaobang's inscription: "When joining the Army, we are willing to become soldiers who suffer losses; when being demobilized or returning to civilian service, we are willing to become people who suffer losses; we are willing to suffer losses for the people for all our lives; the people's Army is the most glorious Army."

After learning from the lofty quality of the heroes and model soldiers in the war of self-defense against Vietnam, we should conscientiously suffer losses for our motherland and our people and act with a devoted spirit. We should unify our ideology and attach the utmost importance to the interests of the party and the people and to the responsibility of a revolutionary soldier so as to bravely devote all ourselves to our motherland and our people. That

"I suffer, but a billion people gain" should become our oath. Our comrades have said it so well: "In order to be subordinate to and show concern for the overall national situation, we must dare to make sacrifices. Our sacrifices will be worthwhile and glorious."

WHEN ACTING IN LIGHT OF THE OVERALL SITUATION, IT IS IMPORTANT TO STRESS UNITY. Our country's socialist economic construction demands a political situation of stability and unity and requires the party, the government, the Army, and the people of the whole country to strive hard in unity and with one heart and one mind. In order to do a good job in the reform, simplification, and reorganization of the structure of our troops, we must also strengthen our unity in various aspects. After being reorganized, the troops are usually formed from severed units. New Army personnel come from various units. What is more, old officers are succeeded by new ones. The situation is thus complicated, and the work is difficult. Under such circumstances, in order to properly fulfill our Army tasks, it is of special importance to stress unity, style, and party spirit, bringing every positive factor into play.

Stressing unity means to unite all comrades from various units into a strong combat collective. When using cadres, we must stress equal opportunities for all cadres, must not practice the mountain-stronghold mentality, and must remove the barriers of departmental mentality. We must equally treat, trust, show concern for, and give support to cadres from various units. In selecting and promoting cadres, we must stick to the principle of stressing both ability and political integrity, the principle of promoting the competent, the principle of promoting cadres from all units, and the principle of upholding justice and uprightness. Generally speaking, we should appoint and assign cadres according to the needs of building a modern and regular revolutionary army and the needs of the overall arrangement of our Army. However, a newly reorganized unit will probably be staffed mainly by a certain former unit. This situation is quite normal, inevitable, and conforms to the interests of the overall situation. We should not give too much thought to which former unit accounts for the bigger proportion and which former unit accounts for the smaller proportion in the newly reorganized unit.

We should not think that a certain former unit has been given more attention in the newly reorganized unit than another former unit, either. During the war years, we had to disperse our troops and establish our base areas in various areas. At that time, Comrade Mao Zedong once proposed the policy of "recognizing factions, showing concern for factions, and eliminating factions." This policy was absolutely correct at that time because it united the troops and people in various base areas, brought various positive factors into play, successfully put the whole Army under a concentrated and unified leadership and ensured the victory of the revolutionary war. After the founding of the People's Republic, the situation changed. Our country is unified so we can no longer stress showing concern for factions, nor can we see things from a factional point of view. The big field armies which existed in the first few years after liberation have been reorganized several times. Most of those troops have left the places where they were originally stationed. Some of those troops have been transferred to other military regions or districts, some have been changed into public security forces, and some have been

disbanded. Can we say that those troops were not given enough attention? In the reform of Army structure and the simplification and reorganization of the troops, we must take into consideration the overall situation of our country and be subordinate to the needs of our country's construction and our Army's construction while conscientiously safeguarding revolutionary unity. However, after working together for many years, our comrades have established deep feelings among themselves and often contact one another. This is irreproachable. We cannot take this kind of normal, comradely relations as a mountain-stronghold mentality.

The key link in strengthening unity lies in the unity within the leading bodies, especially the unity between new and veteran cadres. New leading bodies include cadres of different ages. The members of the leading bodies joined the revolution at different times, thus they have different experiences. They have different standards of education and different working abilities. Their views differ on some questions. Under such circumstances, it is of utmost importance to strengthen unity between the new and veteran cadres. If there is strong unity within leading bodies with new and veteran cadres learning from one another's strong points to offset one another's weaknesses and working with joint efforts just like towing a boat in the same direction, then all the difficulties can be overcome and any rapids or dangerous shoals will be forded. If the members of the leading bodies are not united as one, they will complain about one another, not cooperate with one another, and counteract one another's efforts as in a tug-of-war when confronting some setbacks and problems. Unity and cooperation between new and veteran cadres are essential to reform, the needs of our country's construction, the needs of Army construction, and the needs of continued and further development of the good situation.

The basis of unity is ideological unity and the maintenance of a high degree of ideological and political unity with the CPC Central Committee. Veteran cadres should become models of maintained unity with the CPC Central Committee and should show concern for the growth of new cadres, enthusiastically supporting their work. New cadres should respect veteran cadres, modestly learn from their good traditions, good style, and good experiences concerning various fields. The veteran and new cadres must look more at each other's strong points, respect each other, learn from each other, encourage each other, support each other, and offset each other's weaknesses. Only when members of leading bodies are united as one can we do the work of the Army properly and lead the Army in opening new prospects for its various kinds of work.

In order to achieve unity, we must correctly deal with relations between higher and lower levels, between officers and soldiers, between Army and government, and between Army and people.

Superiors in units where relations between higher and lower levels, between officers and soldiers, between Army and government, and between Army and people are not close enough should, on their own initiative, hold heart-to-heart talks with their inferiors; cadres should, on their own initiative, hold heart-to-heart talks with soldiers. Army cadres should, on their own

initiative, visit localities and listen to the opinions of the local government and people so as to successfully achieve unity. Tight unity within the Army, between the Army and the government, and between the Army and the people are indispensable guarantees for doing various kinds of work and accomplishing various tasks. Our cadres at all levels are public servants of the people, so they should maintain the true qualities of ordinary soldiers. If a leading cadre puts on airs, unequally treats, or does not respect his inferiors and soldiers, thinking that he is the boss and others must obey him, or if a leading cadre puts on bureaucratic airs or has an imperious bearing, he will inevitably cut himself off from the masses and will not have good relations with others in his unit. The prestige of leading cadres is not established by their position or rank, but established by their own exemplary behavior and actions. Only by maintaining the true qualities of an ordinary soldier and giving true love to the people, soldiers, and inferiors can we achieve unity both within and outside the Army, rally the broad masses of officers and soldiers around the CPC Central Committee and accomplish various tasks assigned by the party.

TO ACT IN LIGHT OF THE OVERALL SITUATION DEMANDS THAT WE HAVE IDEALS AND DISCIPLINE. Only with strong confidence in lofty communist ideals and in the final victory of our party's cause and with a firm and correct political orientation can we have vision, understand and view the situation as a whole, conscientiously act in light of the overall situation, and adopt the correct attitude toward Army reforms and the simplification and reorganization of our troops. On the contrary, if we lack lofty ideals and have no clear political orientation, we will give too much thought to personal gains and losses and only go around in circles in our respective specific situations so that we will not be able to be conscientiously subordinate to the overall situation, show concern for the overall situation, and become united as one. Instead, we would probably hinder the overall situation and destroy unity, possibly even obstructing the progress of the Army reforms and the streamlining and reorganization of our troops. Lofty communist ideals are the ideological basis of lofty behavior. The successful integration of lofty ideals with present tasks will enable our ordinary work to radiate ideological brilliance and enable us to work miracles in building the four modernizations. In the self-defense counterattack against Vietnam, our commanders and soldiers fought bravely without fearing death. They took actual actions to realize their ideals by fighting for their motherland. They understood that without a safe border, China's four modernizations cannot be smoothly implemented. That they heroically shed blood to defend the building of the four modernizations is a vivid manifestation of their lofty ideals. Many comrades wrote in their diaries and written pledges: "The needs of the motherland are my ideals," "In order to defend the motherland, my mother, I am willing to shed my blood on the border." Some martyrs wrote in their wills: "As long as our country is strong and prosperous and our people are happy, the hearts of the dead can stop beating peacefully." These heroes are models in combining lofty ideals with realistic struggle, in being conscientiously subordinate to the overall situation and in acting actively in the light of the overall situation. No matter whether fighting a war or carrying out economic construction, there must be some people willing to make sacrifices in a spirit of devotion. It is lofty and glorious of us to make brave self-sacrifices for

the interests of our country and people and to push the socialist construction ahead with great strides. In the present reform of Army structure and the simplification and reorganization of the troops, our comrades are learning from the heroes and models fighting at the front. Our comrades have resisted material temptation and have given priority to the interests of the state rather than their private interests. They have voluntarily left the big cities and gone to the southern frontier to defend the country. The cadres who were being transferred to other units or to civilian work reported for duty as soon as they received the orders to go to the frontier. Comrades dealing with the aftermath have worked conscientiously without giving thought to their positions and titles. Many veteran cadres who have already retired from the leading bodies still continue to voluntarily make their contributions to Army construction. Our comrades say: The martyrs have died for the prosperity of the country and the well-being of the people. Is there anything personal which we cannot cast off? Of course, there are a few comrades who give more thought to their personal affairs than to the overall situation of the country. We should do ideological work among these comrades and help them to clearly understand the relationship between the present tasks and lofty ideals so as to raise their consciousness of being subordinate to the overall situation. This will help us solve some specific problems.

In order to act in light of the overall situation, we should not only have lofty ideals but maintain strict discipline. Ideals and discipline supplement each other. Without lofty ideals, there can be no iron discipline; without iron discipline, there can be no unified action by a powerful army to strive for the realization of the lofty ideals. The discipline of our Army is based on a high degree of consciousness. This is an important sign which distinguishes our Army from all armies of the exploiting class. In the past, at present, and in the future, we have maintained and will maintain a high degree of centralization and unity among our troops by relying on our Army's discipline. By relying on our Army's discipline, we have been and will continue to fulfill the various tasks assigned by the party and maintain our Army's combat effectiveness which is characterized by being certain of victory when launching attacks, being certain of successfully holding military positions when defending them, and being certain of breaking down all enemy resistance.

In the present reform of Army structure and the simplification and reorganization of troops, we must lay particular stress on disciplinary education and raise our consciousness of observing discipline so as to prevent the relaxation of discipline, slackness, disobedience, refusal to carry out orders from higher authorities, and other kinds of anarchical tendencies which might emerge in the course of the amalgamation, disbanding, downgrading, and transformation of military units, the changing of leading cadres, and the transfer of personnel. All cadres, no matter whether they will leave or remain, and no matter whether they will be transferred or be assigned work which does not match their previous skills, must consciously keep themselves within the bounds of the party and Army discipline, carry out in an exemplary way the party's organizational discipline, political discipline, and financial discipline, and the Army's three main rules of

discipline and points for attention, carry out the instructions and orders of the Central Military Commission as well as various regulations of the general headquarters, maintain a unified ideology, a rigid style, strict discipline, and sustained vigor, maintain and develop the fine traditions of the people's Army, and safeguard the prestige of our Army.

We must seriously deal with the individuals who violate discipline, criticize them, and take disciplinary measures against them so as to educate troops, ban malpractices, safeguard the prestige of party and Army discipline, enabling troops to maintain sharp and conscious vigilance. To strictly implement discipline is another form of education. Only by combining ideological education with disciplinary sanctions can we ensure that the whole Army achieves ideological unity and acts in a unified way under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission, and ensure the successful implementation of the party's line, general and specific policies, and instructions.

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NO ECONOMIC STABILITY WITHOUT AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, NO PROSPERITY WITHOUT INDUSTRIAL GROWTH, AND NO ECONOMIC INVIGORATION WITHOUT COMMERCIAL EXPANSION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 86 pp 10-12

[Article by Jing Ping [2529 1627]]

[Text] "No economic stability without agricultural development," "no prosperity without industrial growth," and "no economic invigoration without commercial expansion." This is a valuable experience summed up by the peasants and grass-roots cadres in the practice of readjusting the structure of rural production. The three phrases combined is a simple way to express the guiding policy of the CPC Central Committee on the overall development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fishery and the comprehensive management of industry, agriculture, and commerce in the rural economy. Only by implementing this policy in an all-round way can we ensure a continuous and steady growth of the rural economy.

Taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy is a strategic policy our party has been carrying out for many years. Is this policy changed now that the agricultural situation has improved? No. The National Conference of Party Delegates, which was held last year, emphasized: "Agricultural development is still an important foundation for the development of the entire national economy of our country. We must attach sufficient importance to its strategic position." The strategic position of agriculture is determined by its own characteristics. Raising agricultural labor productivity is a condition for the development of the social division of labor. Only when the agricultural laborers have surplus products can a part of these laborers separate themselves from agricultural production and engage in the production of other trades and professions (the number of these people will increase with the increase in labor productivity). The development of agriculture will provide nonagricultural productive departments with more labor forces and raw materials and provide nonagricultural labor forces with more food and other daily necessities. Without a stable foundation of agriculture and grain production, there will be no stable foundations for industry and commerce, and the entire national economy will not be able to develop healthily and harmoniously. Moreover, it will be difficult for us to carry out the reform, and the political situation of stability and unity will also be affected. "No economic stability without agricultural development" and "no peace and ease without the development of grain production" can be said to summarize

our historical experience. We should never slacken our efforts to promote agricultural development because of the improvement of the agricultural situation, or reduce our investment in the capital construction of agriculture because of the long period and slow results of this investment, still less should we negate the position of agriculture as the foundation of the national economy because of the gradual decrease in the proportion of agricultural output value in the gross national product. In some countries, there once appeared the shrinking of agriculture in the course of industrialization. We must learn from their lessons and prevent its appearance in our country and must strive for a steady growth of agricultural production. During the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the total agricultural output value should increase by an average of 6 percent a year, and there should be a steady growth in grain production so that the per capita possession of grain may be maintained at about 800 jin. At the same time, there should be a considerable increase in the per capita income of the rural population. This is an arduous task for promoting production to a new level. We must make continuous efforts to perfect and implement various policies and carry out the reform in depth. We must protect and stimulate the peasants' initiative in production (especially in grain production). At the same time, we must effectively improve production conditions by scientific methods and by making more investments so as to attain our goal set by the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

When we emphasize the importance of agriculture and grain production, we do not mean that we should return to the old path of "taking grain as the key link." For a long time past, as a result of "800 million people working hard for food," the social division of labor did not develop and agricultural labor productivity and the commodity rate of agricultural products were maintained at very low levels. This situation did not suit the development of the commodity economy and the demands of the construction of socialist modernization in our country. Judging from the experiences of many other countries in their development, the shifting of agricultural labor forces to nonagricultural productive departments is an inevitable trend. If the labor forces are restricted on limited cultivated land and the development of the division of labor is restrained, the development of the rural economy will certainly be delayed. On the contrary, if the rural industry, commerce, and service trades are developed in a planned way on the basis of steady growth of agriculture, the rural economy will surely be vigorously developed. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have summed up historical experiences and lessons and put forth a policy of never relaxing grain production while actively developing a diversified economy. Under the guidance of this policy, the rate of increase in our grain production has been greatly accelerated and an overall prosperity in the rural economy has been achieved. This provides us with a convincing proof in this regard.

Along with the increase in agricultural labor productivity and the development of grain production, some labor forces have quit agriculture and shifted to nearby town and township enterprises mainly engaged in industrial production. This has become a general trend of development in China's rural economy. In as little as several years, the output value of town and township enterprises has already reached 248.1 billion yuan, and some 64.16 million

laborers have been employed. They form an important economic force, playing an increasing role and having an increasing influence with each passing day. First, they have helped the surplus labor find a way out and promoted the division of labor and the readjustment of the production structure in the rural areas. The shifting of surplus labor to nonagricultural productive departments is also favorable for raising the economic returns of agriculture because the land can be more intensively used by capable peasants and the scope of production can be appropriately expanded. Second, by catering to the needs of agriculture in running industry and making industry support and supplement agriculture, the town and township enterprises have already become an important pillar of the rural economy. They can provide agriculture with a large quantity of productive means and improve the conditions of agricultural production by offering all kinds of services before and after production. By developing on-the-spot processing and making a comprehensive use of agricultural and sideline products, they have increased the value of products and better satisfied the needs of the society. They can provide agriculture with large sums of money to be used in promoting agricultural capital construction, purchasing agricultural machines, developing collective welfare, helping poor townships and villages, and directly subsidizing grain production. This kind of support is undoubtedly very important to the steady development of agriculture. Third, they have given an impetus to the construction of small market towns in the rural areas and promoted economic exchanges between town and country. As a result, labor forces, funds, and technical forces are able to circulate and realign within a wider range, which is favorable to the establishment of a new type relationship between town and country and to gradually reducing the distinction between town and country and between industry and agriculture. Fourth, they have helped increase the income of the state and the peasants. During the Sixth 5-Year Plan period, the town and township enterprises turned over to the state 24.6 billion yuan in taxes, opening up a new source of revenue for the state finances. In the first 4 years of that period, the town and township enterprises paid a total of 76.5 billion yuan for the wages of workers and other laborers engaged in agricultural production, thus increasing the income of the rural residents. Fifth, they have changed the industrial distribution in our country. Rural industry has already become an important force in our national economy. Its further development will inevitably accelerate the pace of the modernization of China's rural areas, and will have a far-reaching influence on the economic development in both town and country. Facts have proved that developing town and township enterprises is an important way to achieve prosperity in the rural economy, strengthen the ability of self-development of agriculture, and enrich the broad masses of peasants. At present, in many places where conditions allow, the peasants have become rich following the vigorous development of industry and sideline production. In our country, it is impossible and unrealistic to make the profit rate of agricultural products as high as that of industrial products in a number of years by means of raising the prices of agricultural and sideline products. In order to get rich, it is necessary to rely on the development of industry, sideline production, and the tertiary industry. Generally speaking, in China's rural areas, "no prosperity without industrial growth" is just as true as "no economic stability without agricultural development."

We must relate "no prosperity without industrial growth" and "no economic stability without agricultural development" to each other and make industry and agriculture promote and support each other so that they may develop harmoniously. Only when a bumper harvest is reaped and the foundation is firm can there be better conditions for the development of industry, sideline production, and a diversified economy, and only when the latter are developed can there be greater forces to support and promote the further development of agriculture. A key to achieving an overall and harmonious development of the rural economy is to rationally adjust the economic benefits of the laborers in different trades. As far as economic benefits are concerned, there is always a comparison between grain and industrial crops in the field of crop farming, between crop farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fishery in the agricultural field, and between agriculture, industry, and commerce in the countryside as a whole. Under the conditions of the commodity economy, the comparison between the net incomes of laborers engaged in different trades will directly affect the distribution of various essential factors of production among various departments. In a certain area, if there is a striking difference in this respect between laborers engaging in different trades, the economy will certainly be developed lopsidedly. It probably will also bring about some social problems. For example, we often say that there will be "no peace and ease without the development of grain production" and that grain production should be ensured by effective measures. At present, however, since grain is a kind of low-profit commodity, the economic benefits of grain production are much lower than those of industry, sideline production, and commerce. Therefore, in order to ensure a steady growth of grain production, we must adopt a series of protective and harmonizing measures, such as the measure of necessary price protection, increasing investments in agriculture, improving conditions for agricultural production, raising agricultural labor productivity, and encouraging the peasants to develop industry and sideline production and to supplement agriculture with industry and support agriculture with sideline production. This is an essential measure for strengthening the foundation of agriculture and for a steady and harmonious development of the rural economy as well as the entire national economy both for the present and the future.

China's rural economy has now got onto the track of developing the commodity economy in a planned way. The steady growth of production and the rapid expansion of the scope of circulation require that agriculture, industry, and commerce develop harmoniously. At present, the second step of rural reform has merged with the reform in the cities, and the central problem is circulation. In the process of replacing the old system with the new, there have appeared many problems of disharmony, and the main problem is the obstruction of circulation. Just like a man's blood circulation, the circulation and exchange of commodities cannot stop for even a very short moment in commodity production. "There will be no economic invigoration without commercial circulation." If the circulation is held up, there will be no invigoration of commodity production. Therefore, in order to promote commodity production, it is necessary to unclog the circulation. At present, this problem still has to be solved through carrying out the reform in depth. Last year, we achieved great progress in our reform in both the cities and the

countryside, and the situation was very good. This year, we must consolidate, digest, supplement, and improve the achievements we have made, develop what is good and overcome what is bad, and solve some major problems so that better results may be achieved in the reform. Meanwhile, it is necessary to conscientiously carry out investigation and study and make explorations and experiments so as to make good preparations for the next stage of reform. In the sphere of circulation, we must consolidate and expand the results of our reform of the purchasing system for agricultural products. It is necessary to gradually perfect the system of purchasing grain on contract basis and implement relevant policies so as to protect and stimulate the peasants' initiative in grain production and marketing. At the same time, it is necessary to solve the problem of grain circulation among various areas, or the problem of allocation. When solving this problem, we must take into consideration the initiative of the grain production provinces, prefectures, and countries and rationally balance the economic benefits of the areas providing grain and those accepting grain, so as to give play to their respective superiority and to gradually realize the structure of production and need of our country, which is mainly based on the balance between various areas. On the other hand, it is necessary to establish some intermediate links for commodity circulation. While doing a good job of organizing the wholesale market for agricultural products and promoting the development of a diversified economy, it is also necessary to establish some intermediate organizations for commodity circulation as well as some new channels and new commercial forms and societies, so as to solve the problem of circulation through diverse channels. In addition to the state commerce, the collective commerce in the form of supply and marketing cooperatives, and the individual commerce, which has brought the peasants directly into the sphere of circulation, it is necessary to establish on a trial basis some transregional and transdepartmental commercial enterprises, which combine both agriculture and industry, and commerce. In this way, we can break the bounds of different regions and departments and promote the relations between town and country, between producers and consumers, and between agricultural departments and industrial and commercial departments. For example, in the vegetable business, we can try to make a certain vegetable production area and a city's commercial department establish a joint company to deal with the wholesale business on the basis of sharing profits. Since the vegetables are transported to the city directly, the expenses for circulation can be greatly reduced. At the same time, the city's vegetable supply can be improved. Both the production area and the city can benefit from this. Besides, we can also make some experiments on socializing commercial service facilities. Without these measures, it will be difficult to develop a new type of commerce.

In short, we must follow the path of taking agriculture as the foundation while harmoniously developing a diversified economy so that the rural economy as well as the entire national economy can be vigorously developed.

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## NEW TRENDS AND TASKS IN CHANGING ECONOMIC STRUCTURAL PATTERNS

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[Article by Gao Shangquan [7559 1424 0356]]

[Text] Counting from the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, China's economic structural reform has lasted for 7 years. During this period, achievements have been made in rural reforms, a success that has attracted worldwide attention. Important experience has also been gained in urban reforms. The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure" adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, which has made breakthroughs in a series of important theoretical issues, guides our country as we enter a new period of comprehensive reform in which the old economic structure is moving to the new one.

### New Trends Emerging in the Course of Pattern Transformation

Economic restructuring is a very complicated systems project and can also be called a second revolution. It requires correct theories as the guide. With the scientific spirit and theoretical boldness of Marxism, the "Decision" of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee states that the socialist economy is a planned commodity economy based on public ownership. This is a great development in Marxist political economics and the theory on scientific socialism, and it serves as the important theoretical basis for taking the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics. In developing the socialist commodity economy, we must duly separate ownership from the power of operations so that enterprises will become relatively independent commodity producers and handlers. We must stress the planned commodity market and explore ways of establishing a complete market system. We must define the principle of giving top priority to indirect control and control and regulate the operation of the economy using economic, legal, and necessary administrative means. Theory stems from practice, guides practice, and is tested by practice. The process of reform is a gradual transformation from the old economic structural pattern to a new one. In the course of the transformation, China's economy is moving to the track of a double structure. At present in our economic life there exist simultaneously two methods of management, two operation mechanisms, and two price systems. They are interrelated and in a process of gradual transition. This indicates that

our reform which is a very complicated undertaking, is bound to surge with great momentum. It must be noted that the double-track structure is the inevitable process of pattern transformation and serves as a bridge between the old rigid structure and the new dynamic structure. With the development of the theory on the socialist commodity economy and the operation of the economy along a dual track, in the past year, great progress has been made in China's reform both in theory and in practice. The reform has been taking good shape. The requirement of fighting the first battle and being sure to win has been fulfilled, and new noticeable trends of development have emerged.

The first trend is that horizontal economic relations are developing rapidly and vigorously. This is the most noticeable and important trend of the past year. Horizontal economic relations are something new arising in the execution of urban reforms. They are in keeping with the internal needs of the development of the commodity economy. They are a fundamental breakthrough in the old structure characterized by vertical economic relations, seclusion, and a high level of concentration. Over the past year, multi-form, multi-level, and multi-content horizontal economic combinations have rapidly developed. They have significantly surpassed the previous forms in terms of range, size, and form. The development of horizontal economic relations has invigorated the urban economy and is the only way of developing the planned commodity economy. The main manifestations are as follows: 1) The cooperation among the international departments of trades in cities has developed into an economic combination transgressing the barriers between different trades, departments, and localities and between different types of ownership. Some combinations have even developed into enterprise groups, thus smashing the management system characterized by the separation of the departments and regions at different levels, a system which stresses administrative affiliation. The Dongfeng Automobile Factory is a motor enterprise group composed of the "Automobile Factory No 2" and some 100 enterprises from more than 20 provinces and cities, with the former as the backbone. Formerly a small beverage factory, the Tianfu Cola Beverage Company in Chongqing city is now China's biggest economic combination, with a production capacity of 200,000 tons and 68 branches. It has established horizontal economic relations with 23 provinces and cities. 2) The temporary cooperation in materials and products on an item-by-item basis has moved to a long-term, multi-faceted, and multi-channeled economic combination that handles matters ranging from funds, technology, equipment, qualified personnel, production, marketing, and management to scientific research, thus promoting the readjustment of production patterns and the rational distribution of essential factors of production. 3) The combination and cooperation between enterprises has moved to that between rural towns, cities, and between economic zones. An open and fan-shaped economic network with big cities as the center has begun to take shape.

The second trend is that diverse economic forms which influence one another have been developing side by side. A diversified socialist structure of ownership with socialist public ownership as the core is taking shape. China's rural reforms have smashed the old, regional, and closed collective economic structure based on a self-supporting or semi-self-supporting economy. The development of the theory concerning the socialist commodity economy has

further smashed the concept of stressing unitary ownership which is related to the product economy, thus opening the way for the development of diverse economic forms and various methods of operation. In the past year, the new economic structure under which socialist public ownership holds a dominant position and under which diverse economic forms that influence one another are able to develop side by side has replaced the old economic structure characterized by the complete separation of ownership by the whole people, collective ownership, and individual ownership and by the premature transition from a lower level of ownership to a higher one. Industries under the system of ownership by the collectives have rapidly developed. A total of 56,000 small state-owned commercial and catering enterprises have been put under flexible management. Among them, the enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people but operated by the collectives comprised 79 percent, those directly turned into enterprises under the system of ownership by the collectives amounted to 10 percent, and those leased to the collectives or individuals constituted 11 percent. The joint stock economy has begun to take shape, thus posing a new topic for the theory and practice of reform.

The third trend is that enterprises have been considerably invigorated. In the past year, government administrative departments at various levels have made great headway in simplifying administrative procedures and delegating power to lower levels, reducing the use of mandatory planning, and in readjusting the profits to be turned over by enterprises to the state, thus providing external conditions for invigorating enterprises. At the same time, the expansion of the scope of guidance planning and regulation through market mechanism has added external pressure to enterprises. Profound changes have taken place in the enterprises' ability to compete on the market and to adapt themselves to the changing market, and in their operational objectives, investment directions, and distribution principles. Many enterprises have concentrated on the development of their internal departments, tapped their own potential, and accelerated the reform of their internal departments. They have introduced the director (manager) responsibility system, made smaller units the basis of cost accounting, developed diversified undertakings on a trade basis, raised the level of scientific management, enhanced the enterprises' abilities to adapt themselves to the changing market and to compete on the market, and earnestly explored ways to become relatively independent commodity producers and handlers.

The fourth trend is that significant progress has been made in conscientiously applying the law of value and economic levers. The control and regulation by the state of the macroeconomy has begun to move from stressing the use of direct administrative controls to the flexible use of indirect controls by such economic means as prices, taxation, interest rates, and foreign exchange rates. Useful attempts have been made to bring general social demand under control. Hence, there are bright prospects for a benign cycle in the national economy. The second step of the overall implementation of the system of replacing profit delivery with tax payments, which is the collection of new taxes for the use of resources and for the maintenance and construction of cities, and which includes strengthening the role of taxation as a lever in regulating production and circulation, has promoted

the development of the commodity economy and ensured a steady growth of state finances. In reforming the price system, the principle of "combining relaxed control and readjustments and aiming at progress through measured steps" has been adopted. The restrictions on the prices of agricultural and sideline products have gradually been lifted. Charges for short-distance railway transport have been appropriately raised, price differences for different quality properly widened and regional price differences increased. Instead of "demanding uniformity to solve different problems," localities are encouraged to choose the right moment to successively loosen controls over the prices of such nonstaple foods as fish, meat, eggs, and vegetables in light of their own actual conditions and are given rational financial subsidies so that price fluctuations will be mild and price decontrols can be carried out fairly smoothly. Loosening controls over prices will enable the peasants to be more responsive to price fluctuations on the market and further the readjustment of the structure of rural production. In addition, the initial reform of the wage system in state departments and institutions and the readjustment by banks of interest rates have also accumulated useful experience for the further comprehensive application of economic levers.

The fifth trend is that the socialist commodity market has been initially developed. Opening up diverse circulation channels and bringing the role of market mechanisms into play so as to provide a sound market environment for invigorating enterprises are the internal demands for developing the commodity economy and also one important task in our urban reforms. At present throughout the nation there are more than 2,000 trading centers of all kinds where people from all parts of the country, be they business representatives of units under the system of ownership by the whole people or self-employed workers, can do business. They have played an important role in enriching market supplies, expanding sales, making up another's deficiency from one's own surplus, smoothing out the circulation of commodities, transmitting information, changing the situation of administrative compartmentalization, and boosting production. While further improving the trading centers and running the market for consumer goods well, efforts should also be made to establish a number of comprehensive or specialized markets for the means of production. At present the circulation volume of the major means of production under nonmandatory planning constitutes more than 50 percent of the total volume of the means of production consumed by society. Meanwhile, many big and medium cities are exploring and testing ways of establishing markets for funds and technology.

The sixth trend is that the rural commodity economy is vigorously developing and agricultural production is becoming more commercialized and socialized. The reform of the system of unified and fixed state purchases of farm produce is a new breakthrough. With the expanded scope of regulation by market mechanisms, profound changes are taking place in the structure of rural production. The number of specialized households engaged in commodity production and operations in the rural areas across the country amounts to 4 million or so, and the commodity rate has been raised. The development of township enterprises has accelerated the shift of the rural labor force and opened up a wider road for the industrialization and urbanization of the country's rural areas.

The seventh trend is that foreign economic relations and trade have been further expanded. The total volume of imports and exports has increased considerably and marked achievements have been made in using foreign capital. At present the number of Chinese-foreign joint ventures set up in China with state approval is 1,800; that of cooperative enterprises, 3,300 or more; and that of wholly foreign owned, 100. China has entered the international labor service market, contracted projects in many foreign countries, wholly owned some 130 transnational enterprises, and run a number of cooperative enterprises abroad.

The practice in the past year has proved that China has smashed the old, closed, and rigid economic structure, freed itself from unrealistic and fixed concepts, and discarded the old road incongruous with the present development of China's productive forces, thus taking an important step in establishing a socialist economic structure with Chinese characteristics.

#### Pattern Transformation and Macroeconomic Control

China's economic structural reform, which is advancing in good shape, still faces numerous problems. Particularly in the last quarter of 1984, the macroeconomy ran out of control to a certain extent. The main manifestations of the runaway growth are as follows: Industrial growth rates were too fast, the scale of capital construction was too large, consumption and credit funds increased too drastically, the price hikes of some commodities were too excessive, foreign exchange reserves dropped, and some new destabilizing factors emerged in economic life. The CPC Central Committee and the State Council promptly discovered these problems and took measures to tighten macroeconomic controls. At present the overheated economy has slowed down, a fine situation rarely seen for years in the past has emerged, and credit extension has been initially brought under control. However, some problems still merit our attention.

China's macroeconomy ran out of control to varying degrees on many occasions after the founding of the PRC. The first occasion was the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958. The second one was that "three breakthroughs" should be achieved in the number of staff members and workers, the total volume of wages, and the sales volume of grain, a move advocated in 1970. The third one was the "get going and go all out" move in 1978. Different in nature and degree from the runaway growth of the macroeconomy in the three previous periods, some macroeconomic activities that began to go out of control appeared in 1984 when the economy was developing in good shape and the new and old economic structural patterns were in a process of transformation. To sum up experience and to establish a balance mechanism for ensuring that overall social supply meets overall social demand during the transformation, it is necessary to make a further analysis of this problem.

China's experience of uncontrollable microeconomic growth on several occasions in the past is connected with the practice of putting undue emphasis on high growth rates and blindly expanding the scale of capital construction. Super-high growth rates resulted in fund shortages, a dearth of raw and semi-finished materials, and a strain on transportation and energy, and finally

led to the situation in which finance, credit, foreign exchange, and the market were unbalanced and economic life was strained in an overall manner. It must be understood that since reform serves economic construction, it is bound to tremendously promote the development of the productive forces. However, in the course of economic pattern transformation, there will inevitably be profound changes in our society's economic relations, economic structure, social structure, people's life-styles, and the concept of value. Hence, there is a need to do painstaking work. Concentrating on "superhigh growth rates" to the neglect of the formidable and complex character of economic pattern transformation will delay the process of the transformation. If the notion of putting undue emphasis on "achieving quadruplication ahead of time" is regarded as the manifestation of whether or not the reform is carried out successfully and if the scale of capital construction is expanded blindly, this will surely increase the weight of the financial burden on the state, put an overall strain on economic life, and reduce the state's capability of regulating and controlling the reform. Hence, more haste, less speed. The proposal of the central authorities for the Seventh 5-Year Plan points out: "To carry out the reforms smoothly, it is necessary to rationally define our economic growth rates and to avoid blindly competing with each other for high-speed growth rates in output and output value and to avoid strain and confusion in our economic life." We must create a sound economic and social environment for the transition from the old economic structure to a new one through macroeconomic controls.

China's experience of uncontrollable microeconomic growth on several occasions in the past is connected with the old rigid economic structure. In the past, China's economic structure has lacked an internal regulatory control mechanism. On the one hand, the decisionmaking power of enterprises in operations was restrained level after level from the central to local authorities, and on the other hand, the enterprises, eating "from the same big pot" of the state, paid little attention to rational input and output in their operations. This structure was not only suited to mobilizing the whole nation to concentrate on high growth rates, but also serviceable for readjusting and slowing down the economy by using administrative means when some things went wrong with the economy. However, when there was a turn for the better in the situation, more often than not old illnesses would recur and the scale of capital construction would be expanded blindly once again. As the old structure moves to the new one, on the one hand there will be friction and contradictions between the two, which will create "a vacuum" or weaken the state's ability to manage the macroeconomy in some fields of endeavor. On the other hand, the old financial, banking, and price systems will serve to promote the enterprises which are in a process of becoming relatively independent commodity producers and handlers which tend to concentrate on their own partial and short-term interests. This will result in the runaway growth of the macroeconomy characterized by overexpansion of overall social demand. The problems cropping up in the last quarter of 1984 appeared during the supersession of the old economic structure by the new as the two structures coexisted and were the "birth pangs" prior to the emergence of the new structure. Therefore, the effective remedy for the chronic malady of over-expanded overall social demand can be but a sweeping reform. To solve this problem we must carry forward the reform instead of readjusting and slowing

down the economy by using the old administrative means. Moreover, we must explore ways to seek the regulatory mechanisms inherent in the new economic structure which we are now building so as to thoroughly eliminate the causes for the runaway growth of the macroeconomy.

While conducting reforms, because we had inadequate mental preparations for the emergence of problems which might crop up during the supersession of the old economic structure by the new, lacked experience in using economic levers, economic information, legal means, and administrative means to regulate the operation of the economy, and made some errors in specific aspects of our work, the possibility of an overexpansion of overall social demand has become a reality. We must learn a lesson from this hard fact. In the past year, in initiating reforms, we have encountered some difficulties and dangers, experienced severe tests, and accumulated precious experience. With all this, we have deepened our understanding of building a socialist economic structure with Chinese characteristics. First, the pattern of economic development must be congruous with the pattern of economic structural reform and the relationship between reform and construction must be correctly handled so as to create a relatively relaxed environment for the reform. Second, macroeconomic and microeconomic reforms should be carried out simultaneously. Microeconomic invigoration is reform, as is the case with macroeconomic control. Effective macroeconomic controls will enable the microeconomy to make rapid and flexible responses. Third, the reform should be carried out in an overall and coordinated way. In conducting a single reform, we must take the general effect of the comprehensive reform into account, and the part must be subordinated to the whole. Fourth, we must correctly handle the relationship between destruction and construction. Although transition from direct management control to indirect management control is a trend in the course of pattern transformation, necessary administrative means are still indispensable. Microeconomic invigoration should be commensurate with macroeconomic control. Fifth, the professional competence of government economic managerial personnel should be suited to the needs of the reform. Pattern transformation is like replacement of an old car by a new one. The new car needs a driver with better driving skills, or it will be in as bad shape as the old car. Sixth, we must see both the necessity and urgency of the reform and its formidable and protracted character. It is necessary, through publicity work, to help the masses understand that the aim of the reform is to bring prosperity to the nation and happiness to the people. However, the transformation of the old economic structure to a new one will undergo a process involving some dangers and even take some sacrifices. It cannot be accomplished at one stroke.

#### A New Pattern and New Tasks

The Seventh 5-Year Plan begun in 1986 is a crucial period for carrying out the economic structural reform in an overall manner. In the 5 years ahead, or longer, we will concentrate forces on accelerating the growth and decline as well as the transformation of the old and new economic structures and basically lay a foundation for a socialist economic structure with Chinese characteristics.

To basically complete the transformation of economic structural patterns during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, we must persist in putting the reform in the first place and we need a favorable opportunity and a sound social and economic environment. At present the major proportional relations of China's national economy, including the proportional relations between agriculture, heavy industry, and light industry and between accumulation and consumption have become very coordinated. New headway has been made in various construction undertakings. The task of bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in the state's financial and economic situation has been basically fulfilled. This has all created basic conditions for the smooth supersession of the old economic structure by the new. What is more important, over the last few years we have accumulated fairly rich practical experience in conducting reforms. The central and local authorities have come to realize that we must correctly handle the relationship between economic construction and reform and strike a basic balance between overall social demand and supply. This is the principle and condition which we must adhere to in smoothly carrying out the reform. To create a better social environment for the reform, while carrying out the building of material civilization we must make strenuous effort to strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

In order to lay a foundation for the new socialist economic structure, in the course of pattern transformation we must pay close attention to the three aspects of endeavor which are interrelated. First, we must further invigorate enterprises, in particular large and medium-sized enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people, so that they will really become relatively independent socialist commodity producers and handlers which carry out their operations independently and assume full responsibility for their own profits and losses. Second, we must further develop the socialist planned commodity economy and gradually perfect the market system. Third, the management by the state of enterprises should gradually move from giving top priority to direct control to giving top priority to indirect control, and the operation of the economy should be controlled and regulated by mainly using economic and legal means and necessary administrative measures. These three aspects of endeavor can be regarded as the three main tasks of the reform during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period and as the basic characteristics necessary for the new economic structural pattern. If a good job is done in the reforms of the planning, price, financial, banking, and labor and wage systems in line with the above three aspects, a whole set of mechanisms and measures capable of organically combining planning with market forces and microeconomic invigoration with macroeconomic control will take shape and the embryonic form of the new economic structure will appear before us.

Enterprises are the basic cells of the economic activities of society. Whether or not enterprises, in particular large and medium-sized key enterprises, are full of vitality is a matter of crucial importance in differentiating the new dynamic and vigorous economic structure from the old rigid one. Stressing the invigoration of large and medium-sized enterprises has a twofold meaning. One meaning is that large and medium-sized enterprises hold the balance in the national economy. At present there are 5,800 large and medium-sized enterprises in our country, or about 2 percent of the

nation's total number of industrial enterprises. The fixed assets and taxes and profits forwarded to the state of these enterprises constitute two-thirds of those of enterprises throughout the country. The other is that the development of the reform is uneven. Compared with small enterprises, large and medium-sized enterprises lack vitality and expansion of the decision-making power has not been effectively implemented in many enterprises. To invigorate enterprises, we must create external conditions so that they will have a fairly sound environment for carrying out their operations. We must further simplify administrative procedures and delegate powers to lower levels, consolidate companies of an administrative character, and directly delegate the decisionmaking power in microeconomic operation that ought to be given to enterprises. We must appropriately reduce or remit the regulatory taxes of the large and medium-sized enterprises which are well operated and have made great contributions but retained few profits, and must create conditions for enterprises of all types to compete on equal footing. We must gradually reduce the tasks under mandatory planning and give enterprises greater decisionmaking power in production, supply, and marketing. As far as the reforms in the internal departments of enterprises are concerned, it is necessary to perfect the various forms of economic responsibility system and extensively implement the rigorous quota control and quality control systems and the related system of rewards and penalties. The enterprises where conditions are ripe are urged to carry out a graded business accounting system and an absolute cost control method, and all enterprises are encouraged to lower material consumption and to attain better economic results. The director responsibility system should be perfected and the system under which a director is responsible for fulfilling the set quotas during his term of office should be tried experimentally. Through the concerted efforts from inside and outside enterprises, it is necessary to raise the enterprises' abilities to increase the competitive appeal of their products, to gain better returns on their investment, to tap intellectual resources, and to adapt themselves to the changing market. In the final analysis, enterprises should be capable of transforming and developing themselves. This is where the hope of our future economic development lies.

Establishing and developing the socialist market system is a new development of the theory concerning the planned commodity economy. If an enterprise full of vitality is regarded as the cell of the new economic structure, a complete market system is its circulatory system. It can help bring about the rational mobility and combination of various essential factors of production, provide enterprises with an ample supply of "blood," and ensure that enterprises will carry out their operations really independently and participate in rational competition. Ultimately, it can help thoroughly improve the economic results of enterprises and society. To develop the planned commodity economy, first of all we must solve the problems such as separation of the departments and regions at different levels, departmental confinement, and seclusion of the countryside from cities, open up localities to each other and cities to the countryside and vice versa, and encourage competition. While continuing to expand the market for the means of subsistence, we must vigorously develop the market for the means of production. Efforts should be made to develop the multi-tier market funds, to promote the horizontal flow of funds, and to use funds where they are badly needed by

society and for projects which promise better macroeconomic results. Technological exchange activities such as transferring scientific and technological achievements on a compensation basis, signing technological contracts, carrying out technology consultancy services, and becoming a shareholder by contributing one's technical know-how, should be energetically developed. Vigorous efforts should also be made to develop the tertiary industry and to commercialize residential units so that a socialist market system with Chinese characteristics will steadily take shape.

The transition from giving top priority to direct control to giving top priority to indirect control is a fundamental change in our economic management and also the main indicator for whether or not pattern transformation has been completely achieved. To give first priority to indirect control, it is necessary to establish a new macroeconomic control system, including the systems of planning, economic levers, economic regulations and ordinances, and economic organizations. What counts here is to establish an automatic and responsive internal regulatory mechanism so that while the microeconomy is being invigorated, China's macroeconomic management work will become institutionalized and more scientific.

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## REFORM AND LAW

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[Article by Liu Han [0491 3466]]

[Text] Law should serve the reform, and reform will certainly assist in further refining the law. This relation between reform and law is definite and indubitable. In order to give full play to the role of law in promoting and guaranteeing the reform, it is necessary to look into some ideological and theoretical problems in relations between reform and law.

### 1. Should Reform Be Carried Out Within the Scope Allowed by Our Constitution and Law?

The answer is in the affirmative. However, there are still different views on this question: One is the view that gives a negative answer to the question; and another holds that the reform can observe or break the Constitution and law. The above different views are mainly because we lack a clear understanding of the nature of this reform.

The "Decision on Reform of the Economic System" (shortened to "Decision" in later context) by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee clearly says that this reform is to reform, under the precondition of adhering to the socialist system, a series of mutually related links and aspects of our relations of production and superstructure that are not suited to the development of our productive forces. This reform is carried out in a planned, systematic and orderly manner under the leadership of the party and government. It is a self-perfection and development of our socialist system. The nature of the reform determines that we must strictly observe the Constitution and law. This is a demarcation line of principle. We should by no means violate the Constitution and law nor should we observe the Constitution and some laws while violating others. We must be aware that the current Constitution and law are a unified and integrated whole. They must all be observed and must not be violated unless they are revised or abrogated through formal legal procedures or replaced by new law. Of course, at the same time, we should define in the form of our law an even larger number of our economic relations and activities and thus enable our law to become an important means of regulating our economic relations and activities. By so doing, we will really carry out the principle of "having law to follow, being

sure to follow all the law that we have formulated, being sure to impose the law strictly, and being sure to punish all those who have violated our law." Otherwise, there will inevitably be chaos which will hinder the smooth progress of reform and make it impossible for us to attain the goal of our reform.

Our country's Constitution and law are a highly unified embodiment of the will of our party, state and people; while the reform is a strong and identical desire of the party, state and people. Therefore, our Constitution and law are entirely consistent with our reform. Observing the Constitution and law will only promote and ensure the reform and consolidate its achievements rather than the contrary.

For example, in the introduction and general program of our Constitution, there are a series of stipulations on our country's socialist economic system and a definite principle on the economic structural reform. In our Constitution, there are stipulations on the dominant role of the state-owned economic sector and the diverse economic forms and management methods on the basis of public ownership, on the decisionmaking power of our state-owned and collective enterprises over their administration and management and the democratic management in these enterprises, on perfecting the economic management system and enterprise management system and implementing diverse forms of socialist responsibility system, on conscientiously implementing the principle of distribution according to labor, on correctly handling the relations between accumulation and consumption and taking into consideration the interests of both the state and the collectives and the individuals, on the relations between economic planning and the regulation of market mechanism and on protecting the legitimate rights and interests of enterprises and other economic organizations of foreign countries and enterprises using joint Chinese and foreign capital or management in Chinese territory. These stipulations have provided very wide scope for "relaxing control and enlivening" in our economic structural reform. Of course, "relaxing control and enlivening" does not mean giving up all administration and control, but means that while relaxing control and enlivening, we should effectively and satisfactorily exercise our administration and control. This is a dialectic unity.

How should we exercise control? We do so first through our Constitution. The Constitution is the basic major law of our country and the general rules for governing our country. It has the highest legal force. The people of all nationalities throughout our country, all state organs, the armed forces, all political parties and social bodies, all enterprises, institutions and organizations must regard it as the fundamental rule governing their activities. Of course, the reform can be no exception. If we do not even observe the Constitution, the work of enlivening will lead to chaos. This is common sense.

Take our law for example. We all know that most of our country's existing economic laws and regulations were formulated after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee (in December 1978) and the 2d Session of the 5th NPC (in June 1979). The task of reform was put forth by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The "Decision" points out:

"Our country's economic structural reform has gone through years of preparations and practice." This means roughly the 6 years between the two third plenary sessions. During that period, our country revised and approved its Constitution and formulated a series of laws and economic laws and regulations, all of which are undoubtedly permeated with the spirit of reform.

Judging by its contents, the "Decision" deeply expounds on and makes clear regulations on many major theoretical and practical issues on the basis of the stipulations on the principles of reform in our Constitution. Judging by the contents of a series of relevant laws and economic laws and regulations, they not only conform to the Constitution, but also embody the spirit of the "Decision," make the contents of the "Decision" more concrete and regular, and clarify them in writing. Judging by what we have seen and heard, the major problems in our current practice are that people find that the law concerning our economic structural reform and economic construction is still not perfect, adequate, or concrete, thus fettering our reform. We should not fail to see that our law indeed plays the role of fettering or restricting by banning and even punishing some activities, but these activities are by no means reform, but are criminal activities that take advantage of our reform to violate our law. This kind of fettering, restricting, banning or even cracking down or punishing does not hinder the reform, on the contrary, it is precisely aimed at ensuring the smooth progress of our reform.

Reform must be carried out within the scope allowed by our Constitution and law. This is a view that we have gained through summing up the experience and lessons in the over 30 years since the founding of the PRC. In the past, in handling some major issues affecting the whole nation, we adopted the method of carrying out "movements," often disregarded our Constitution and law, and relied on the direct actions of the masses of people. This caused many bitter results. We must never do that again. One important guarantee for preventing that past mistake is to strictly observe our Constitution and law.

## 2. The Relation Between Stability and Change of Our Law in the Process of Reform

We should maintain the continuity, stability, and authority of our law. In a sense, stability is the key. Without stability, there will be no continuity, nor can we even mention authority. But stability does not mean being entirely fixed and unchanged, but means that we should skillfully combine adhering to principles with flexibility, and that we should seek a basic stability while continuing to change our law by abrogating, reforming and formulating some of it.

The requirement for the stability of law is inevitably in conflict with the continuous emergence of the new situation and problems in the course of our reform. How should we solve this problem?

The major means are: 1) We should strengthen our daily legislative activities, in particular, our economic legislative work. In the light of the needs and feasibility, we should make a distinction between what is important and what is not and between what is urgent and what is not, organize the work of

drafting economic laws and regulations in a planned manner under good leadership, and then deliver the drafted laws and regulations to the NPC session or NPC Standing Committee for discussion and approval in order to turn them into laws, or to the State Council for approval in order to turn them into administrative regulations. 2) We should grant the State Council the power to formulate provisional regulations and rules to satisfy urgent needs at present and at the same time to lay a satisfactory foundation for the formulation of the law. 3) We should grasp the work of sorting out previous laws and regulations, abrogate those not suited to the demand of the reform, revise those which need to be revised, and edit those that continue to be applicable into orderly books to facilitate their observance. 4) We should properly expand the power of our provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities in formulating local laws and regulations in order to facilitate and ensure the smooth progress of our reform. 5) In investigating inventing new ways, we should proceed from reality, draw up our plans on the basis of adequate feasibility studies, experiment within a certain area and for a certain period after obtaining approval from the State Council in order to gain experience, and then put forward proposals on revising the laws and regulations concerned or on formulating new laws and regulations.

All these are changes. In a sense, reform means changing the law. During the reform, the basis on which our law is established and the objects that our law regulates are all changing, therefore, the law itself should naturally change too. This change is simply development and progress. Essentially, not only does this change not conflict with the stability of our law, but it is precisely aimed at better ensuring the stability of our law. For the true test of the stability of our law is that its provisions should conform to the reality and be correct, and be able to play their role in practice. Of course, this does not mean that the stability of its forms is insignificant and can be constantly changed. The key here is: No matter whether we formulate or abrogate and revise a law, we must act in strict accordance with legislative procedures. Before abrogation or revision, any existing law remains in force and must be observed. It goes without saying that when a new law comes into force, it must be observed. The above is the minimum demand for maintaining the stability of our law. If there is not such a strict legislative procedure and if any organization or individual is allowed the freedom to observe, partially observe, or refuse to observe our Constitution and law according to their ideas of reform or of their own needs, then there will be no legal system at all.

### 3. Relations Between Law and Implementation of Law

In our reform, there is a problem of imperfect law in some spheres, but in contrast, at present the problem related to the implementation of law is even more widespread.

For some time in the past, our press journals, television, radio, and other forms of propaganda reported the cases of a small number of people who were keen on reform and who had been arrested and sued. Although the conclusion of these cases was good or the prospects for conclusion were good, still these cases gave people an impression that our law seemed to be fettering our

reform. This was misunderstanding. A careful analysis of these cases easily reveals that most of these people were arrested and sued not because of the problems in our law itself, but because of the problems in the implementation of our law. There were complicated causes for these problems. Generally speaking, this was because of the serious difference in our understanding of the reform, which gave rise to a series of contradictions and gaps in the relationships between the upper and lower levels and between people at the same level. As these gaps were hard to overcome, and as they continued to grow, some people ordered others to fabricate evidence and frame the accused, or did so themselves.

In addition, some basic-level political and legal departments failed to exercise satisfactory control over the starting of cases, the approval of arrest, the preliminary examinations, the investigation, the starting of prosecutions, the hearing of cases and so on. As a result, they made the mistake of confusing the demarcation line between criminals and innocent people, regarded ordinary defects and mistakes in people's work or even achievements that ought have been commended as crimes. This showed that, in the area of the construction of our country's legal system, it is imperative to further strengthen the link of legal administrative work at the basic level.

Concerning the causes for the above-mentioned cases, it is necessary to point out the following:

First, during our reform, some new things have emerged that are "not allowed" or are even "unimaginable" in light of the rigid patterns in the past, including many new concepts, ideas, and practices. Some comrades, in particular some leading comrades at the basic level, have not yet been entirely freed from the fetters of the past in their understanding. This also applied to some political and legal cadres at the basic level. The "Decision" very relevantly points out: "In the light of the practice of our reform, we should carry out vivid education in the theory and policies of the reform among the vast number of party members and masses of people in order to enable them to fully realize that socialism with Chinese characteristics should be full of vitality and differs not only from the previous rigid pattern of socialism but also radically from capitalism, and in order to deepen their scientific understanding of socialism and make them plunge into the great practice of reform." We must continue to overcome the influence of "leftist" thoughts and the ideas that uphold following the beaten paths, standing still and refusing to make progress, thus giving everyone a correct understanding of the theory and policies of the reform, making them consciously plunge into reform, and warmly helping and vigorously supporting those keen on reform. Then there will no longer be any "prisoner who is not a criminal." Moreover, our reform will certainly be filled with boundless internal motivation.

Second, there are still some problems in understanding and implementing the constitutional principle that the people's procuratorates independently exercise their procuratorial power and the people's courts independently exercise their judicial authority free from any interference from administrative organs, social bodies, or individuals. The people's public security

organs, people's procuratorates, and people's courts carry out a division of labor between them concerning their responsibility, coordinate with one another, and balance one another. In their work, they implement the principle of "all people being equal in the face of law" and "regarding facts as the basis and law as the yardstick." There should be a set of strict and effective procedures that can ensure prompt discovery and correction of any mistake. Under general circumstances, there are misjudged cases, but their number is relatively small. A relatively large number of mistakes are made when the procuratorial and judicial work is directly or indirectly interfered with illegally in some form or another. These mistakes are often difficult to promptly correct. This shows that in order to strengthen the link of the administration of law at the basic level, our legal administrative organs should make efforts and have a large number of procurators and judicial officers who protect the dignity of our Constitution and law persistently and selflessly, and who implement the law unwaveringly without begrudging their total efforts. At the same time, there should also be public opinion, atmosphere, and other objective conditions such as enable our legal administrative organs to act in this way. In particular, the local leading organs and cadres must support these organs in acting in this way.

#### 4. The Problem Concerning "Reasonable But Illegal," and "Legal But Unreasonable" in Our Reform

In our reform, we often hear people say that now many things are "reasonable but illegal" or "legal but unreasonable." This is a muddled idea.

There are two situations in which rationality is pitted against legality. One is that this rationality is not the rationality which we usually mean, but it is one concerning the interests and needs of an individual or a small group of people. For example, when we deal blows at the criminals who have seriously jeopardized the public security in our society, a very small minority of people shield their children, relatives, or friends. From their point of view, what they do is "fair and reasonable." Perhaps some of them realize that it is illegal, but they think that if they refuse to do it, they would be going against the accepted code of human conduct.

In fact, the rationality in their minds is similar to that of feudal ethics which upholds "fathers cover up sons' crimes and vice versa." This is a rationality which does not conform to the interests of state and people. For another example, some people who have committed serious economic crimes think that since other people can earn large amounts of money, so will they, disregarding their methods and ways. Obviously, this is not only legal but also reasonable for people to become rich earlier than others by observing the law and through working hard and making great efforts. It is not only illegal but also unreasonable for people to become rich by means of speculation, fraud, corruption and taking bribes. Another situation is that in our reform, the words and deeds of some people who are keen on reform are often denounced and regarded as being "legal but unreasonable," "reasonable but illegal," or "not only illegal but also unreasonable." Then what yardstick should we use to check reasonableness in things?

The "Decision" has clearly and definitely pointed out: "While carrying out our reform, all comrades in the party should cling to this basic viewpoint of Marxism and regard being conducive to the development of our social productive forces as the most important yardstick to judge the advantages and disadvantages, success and failure of any reform." Therefore, if some people think that a thing is "reasonable but illegal" or "legal but unreasonable," they are requested to think conscientiously of what they mean by reasonableness. We should not apply our own subjective criteria to judge things, but should apply the objective criterion of being conducive to the development of our social productive forces for our judgment. Moreover, we should foster a firm faith: Under the condition of consciously implementing the basic policy of "developing our socialist democracy and perfecting our socialist legal system," rationality is contained in legality and vice versa. Therefore, the two are consistent with each other.

At present, people often say something is "reasonable but illegal" or "legal but unreasonable." What they mean by legality is to follow the rules and regulations which were formulated in the past by basic-level units or which are the custom that has taken shape over a long time, rather than to follow current law. We are to reform a series of links and aspects which are not suited to the development of our productive forces in our relations of production and superstructure, including those rules and regulations. At the same time, we should realize that quite a few rules and regulations have resulted from the lessons which we have bought very dearly, even with our blood, and are therefore very valuable. Therefore, we must act cautiously and gradually reform these rules and regulations in a well-led, well-planned, systematic and orderly manner. We must be on our guard against repeating our previous erroneous practice of regarding all rules and regulations as conventions that fetter people's limbs, without making any analysis.

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## PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 86 pp 22-25

[Article by Wu Fusheng [0702 4395 3932]]

[Text] The promulgation and implementation of the CPC Central Committee's decision on the reform of our educational system has speeded up the pace of the reform and development of our education. This new situation requires us to pay close attention to educational legislation and use it to consolidate achievements in the reform of our educational system and promote the deepening of the development of this reform.

### Basic Situation of Our Country's Educational Legislation

Our educational law and regulations are an important constituent part of the entire law system with the constitution as its core. Since the founding of the PRC, we have done lots of work in the educational legislation sphere. In September 1949, the session of the First CPPCC National Committee formulated a "Common Program" in the form of a provisional constitution. This stipulated: "The culture and education of the PRC is neo-democratic. In other words, it is national and scientific mass culture and education. In doing its cultural and educational work, the people's government should regard as its major tasks heightening people's educational level, training construction personnel for the state, and eliminating feudal comprador-bourgeois and fascist ideology." This was the basic guiding thought and principle for economic legislation during the initial founding period of the PRC. During the 1950's, our country promulgated in turn, a large number of educational laws and regulations or documents in the nature of educational laws and regulations, such as the "Decision of the Government Administration Council on Reform in the School System" and the provisional regulations for schools of various levels and kinds. These educational laws and regulations played a positive role in promoting the reform and development of our educational undertakings as well as establishing and consolidating our socialist educational system. In the early sixties, in accordance with the instructions of the CPC Central Committee, the Ministry of Education summed up both the positive and negative experiences that we gained after the founding of the PRC, drew up provisional work regulations for our colleges, middle schools and primary schools, and thus provided conditions for heightening our country's educational level. During the 10 years of turmoil, Lin Biao and the

"gang of four" pushed their reactionary policies, disregarded the constitution and law, and caused serious destruction to our educational undertakings and serious suffering to our vast number of educational workers. The lessons drawn from the 10 years of turmoil have made people deeply realize the importance of perfecting our legal system. During the 7 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our country has in turn revised and promulgated some relatively important educational laws and regulations, such as "PRC Regulations on Academic Degrees" and "Methods of Higher Education Self-Study Examinations."

We have scored certain achievements in the sphere of educational legislation, but generally speaking, this sphere continues to be a weak link in the construction of our legal system. Judging by the development of our country's educational legislation since the founding of the PRC, there have been three outstanding problems: The first is that our educational laws and regulations are far from being integrated or forming a system. So far our country is not provided with a basic law on education, nor has it formally promulgated its compulsory education law. The second is that most of the educational rules and regulations are specific laws and regulations promulgated by administrative organs and very few of them are educational laws approved by the state legislature. The third is that most of these regulations and rules are internal requirements on education and that there is a shortage of rules and regulations concerning the economic and social relations of our education. Therefore, they fail to play the role of coordinating the external relations of our education. As a result, even now malpractices often occur such as: occupying school buildings and playgrounds at will; spending educational funds for other purposes without authority; using dangerous houses as classrooms; keeping teachers school and college graduates for other jobs level by level; transferring school teachers to other jobs at will; and interfering in the normal order of our school education. We must strengthen our educational legislation in order to: ensure the healthy development of our educational undertakings; improve the quality and management efficiency of our education; overcome the malpractice of acting at will. We must prevent the phenomena of many administrative organs simultaneously issuing orders, of having no rules to follow, and of getting instructions in the morning which are replaced by new instructions in the evening and thus being at a loss which to follow.

#### Importance and Urgency of Educational Legislation

Currently many comrades, including some comrades in our educational sector, have a weak sense of the legal system, lack an understanding of the importance of educational legislation, and think that "there is no need for law as long as we have policies." During past revolutionary wars, we relied mainly on policies to do our work because of the limitation of the historical conditions then. After the people seized state power, we should have given full play to the state's administrative role. Therefore, we should not only rely on our policies, but also establish and perfect our legal system in order to act in accordance with our law. The implementation of law is ensured by the compulsory force of the state. Law tells people what they may and may not do, what is allowed by it, and what violates it. Law has

the same binding force for all members of our society. No unit or individual is allowed to act in violation of our constitution and law and every unit and individual must act in accordance with law. We need law to ensure the implementation of the party's principles and policies. The CPC Central Committee's decision on reform of the educational system sums up the historical experience in the development of our country's educational undertakings and puts forward a series of important strategic questions. In order to fully implement these major policy decisions, an important aspect of our work is to sum up the successful experience in our reform in the light of the basic spirit of, and the direction pointed out by, the CPC Central Committee's decision; formulate corresponding law; enable our educational workers to have law to follow; and thus ensure the healthy development of our educational undertakings.

Take the development of our fundamental education for example. The CPC Central Committee regards the implementation of the system of 9-year compulsory education as a major task that has a bearing on improving the quality of our nation and making our country prosper, and directs us to give priority to this task. In order to attain this goal, we should formulate a compulsory education law and thus provide powerful legal guarantees for the popularization of education. Judging by foreign experience, there must be legislation in order to popularize education and education cannot be really popularized if the government merely calls people to do so. During the Meiji reign in Japan, the popularization of education is stipulated as one of the three major duties of citizens, the other two being paying taxes and military service. The law of many other countries also stipulates that parents will be economically or administratively punished if they do not let their children complete compulsory education, and that enterprise bosses will be punished if they employ school-age children. Of course, in order to satisfactorily carry out the popularization of compulsory education as a state undertaking, the state should also make some corresponding stipulations through its legislation concerning educational funds and the supply of teachers. Our country has not yet popularized its primary education. In many areas, lots of school students have left schools before finishing their study and every year new illiterates continue to emerge. In particular in our countryside, some parents merely pursue their immediate interests, tell their children to make money, and do not allow them to go to school. There is a serious malpractice of regarding men as superior to women in some areas, therefore, illiterate girls are quite common. One of the important causes for this is that we have failed to formulate compulsory law and regulations to enforce the popularization of education. Practice has proved that without compulsory education, it is impossible to popularize education, and that in order to popularize education, there must be legislation.

Take our country's vocational education for another example. Our country's socialist modernization urgently needs millions of satisfactory vocationally educated urban and rural laborers. Over the past few years, our vocational education has been given importance and developed to a certain extent, but it still lags far behind the vigorously developing economic situation in our urban and rural areas. One of the causes for this is that there is no legislation to guarantee vocational education. In particular, the labor system is out of line with the educational system. The units that employ workers attach

no importance to vocational training or strict examination and assessment. For a time, the system of children taking the jobs of their retired parents became universal practice. As a result, graduates from our vocational and technical schools could not find jobs while those who took the jobs of their retired parents lacked the necessary vocational training. This has had a very unfavorable impact on our economic development and hindered the improvement of the quality of our enterprises. Therefore, in order to ensure the development of our vocational education, we must reform the irrational labor employment system and write into our law the principle of "giving people jobs only after they have received training." In the future, when our units recruit workers, they must first select the better ones among the graduates from our vocational schools. All candidates applying for jobs, in particular jobs in trades that need relatively more professional skill, must first take vocational training, pass the examination, and be issued certificates before they take the jobs, just like automobile drivers who have to pass examinations and be issued drivers' licenses before they are allowed to be drivers. In addition, we should make appropriate regulations through legislation concerning the establishment of schools, training of teachers, sources of funds, and field work sites for our vocational education. In particular, we should consider the role of our enterprises, institutions, and vocational work departments in developing vocational education. Only by so doing can there be an actual reliable guarantee for the development of our vocational education.

This is also the case with our higher education. Our higher education institutes shoulder the important tasks of training senior professional personnel and developing science, technology, and culture. In regard to the reform and development of our higher educational undertakings, if we do not make some unified national regulations through legislation, there will not be authoritative restrictions. As a result, people will act each in his own way and our system will be imperfect, our work will not be coordinated, and we will certainly not be able to do our work well. Over the past 2 years, some areas have vied with one another to establish colleges and upgrade their higher and middle technical schools, without taking into consideration whether there are conditions for running higher educational institutes. The number of higher educational institutes in the whole country has exceeded 1,000 and the situation has gone out of control. This has given rise to a new dislocation in our originally unreasonable educational structure. There is an urgent need to correct the above by means of legislation.

In short, we should act in accordance with the guiding principle put forward by the CPC Central Committee that "education must serve socialist construction and socialist construction must rely on education," and strive to closely combine our educational legislative work with our socialist modernization. Educational legislation is an objective demand that our socialist modernization has raised concerning the development of, and reform in, our educational undertakings. In particular, as our country's reform in its economic structure and scientific, technological and educational systems deepens, there will be an even greater need for powerful legal means to ensure that the development of our educational undertakings is suited to the development of our economy. It is even more necessary to meet the new demands that the new

situation will raise on our educational undertakings. It will also be even more necessary to apply the means of law to conduct macro organization, administration, and leadership over our educational activities, and handle the relations inside and outside our educational undertakings. In other words, it is necessary to fix in the form of law an increasingly larger number of principles and rules governing our educational relations and activities. Reform needs legislation while legislation promotes reform. Educational legislation not only sums up our reform achievements, but it has even more important tasks in charting out paths for the development of, and reform in, our educational undertakings, urging our education and economy to coordinate in their development, and ensuring that our education always makes progress along the orientation of serving the socialist modernization.

#### Problems To Which Attention Should Be Paid in Doing a Good Job of Educational Legislation

In order to speed up our educational legislation, I think that at present we should pay attention to studying and satisfactorily solving the following problems:

1. We should formulate an all-round plan on our educational legislation. In the light of the objective demands and possibilities, we should make a distinction between important and unimportant, and urgent and nonurgent tasks, and carry out our educational legislative work in a planned manner. At present, we should act in accordance with the CPC Central Committee's decision on reform of the educational system and organize forces to draw up some educational laws and regulations that we need most urgently, such as vocational and technical education law, higher education law, and teachers law. In particular, we should put the formulation of the "Basic Law of Education" on the order of the day as soon as possible. As we are conducting a reform in our educational system at present, it is necessary to probe into, and conduct experiments on, many new problems. Correspondingly, there should also be a process of social practice for our educational legislation. In regard to some educational laws and regulations, we can consider the method whereby the government first formulates some provisional regulations or rules and then upgrade them to law when we have gained mature experience.

2. We should pay attention to giving play to the initiative of our localities. Some national law has not yet been formulated, but there is an urgent need for the legislation in some localities. Under these circumstances, we can allow localities to first formulate their local law and regulations in accordance with the constitution, law and administrative rules and regulations. Even after a national law such as the compulsory education law has been formulated in the future, the people's congresses of our various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities are still allowed to formulate their local compulsory education rules in the light of the local situation, in order to decide the steps, methods and schedules to popularize the 9-year compulsory education. In fact, over the past 2 years, many provinces and autonomous regions have already done quite a lot of work in this sphere and approved some local educational laws and regulations. Jiangsu Province has promulgated the "Jiangsu Province's Provisional Regulations on

"Popularizing Junior Middle School Compulsory Education" and "Jiangsu Province's Provisional Regulations on Eliminating Illiteracy." As the legislation has been made, there are laws and regulations to restrict the work and masses of people to supervise it. As a result, the soft tasks related to education became hard ones and fundamental education has developed in an all-round manner throughout Jiangsu Province.

3. We should strengthen our investigation and study and ensure that our educational legislation is established on a scientific foundation. Educational legislation is a tremendous system engineering project. Now, the time is already mature for our educational legislation, but we must fully estimate its arduousness and complexity. Law is a concentrated embodiment of a state's will. Therefore, legislative activities are of a strong policy nature and should be carried out in accordance with the state's interests and the party's principles and policies. In our legislative work, we must also respect the laws governing the characteristics of our educational work, seek truth from facts, and proceed from reality in doing everything. This requires us to mobilize and organize forces of all sectors in doing our legislative work, carry out profound investigation and study, scientific reasoning, and various experiments, and conscientiously sum up our experience. We should be both conscientious and prudent and should neither lose the opportunity nor act rashly.

Here we should particularly stress that our educational legislation should conform to the laws governing our educational work. For example, the key to improving the quality of our education is to improve the quality of our teachers. Therefore, we should give priority to developing our teachers' education. Strengthening teachers' education and training, and improving the teachers that we have already employed, are most important capital constructions in our educational work. We should grasp our teachers' education as we do the key projects in our economic construction. This is what is meant by acting in accordance with the laws governing education. When we are carrying out educational legislation, we must reflect this objective law of education and formulate, through legislation, regulations on the qualification, status, remuneration, training, and improvement of our teachers. Only by so doing can we meet the demands of the development of our educational undertakings and guarantee the quality of our school education. Stressing that our educational legislation should meet the laws governing our educational work also means that we should pay close attention to scientific research and experiments. For many problems concerning education, it is necessary to conduct experiments. The problem concerning our school system is one of them. The Soviet Union's decision to lengthen the duration of primary school education from 3 to 4 years was made after more than 10 years of experiment and research. Therefore, in carrying out educational legislative work, we must respect education and science and make our educational legislation conform to the scientific laws of education.

4. We should study and refer to the experience gained by foreign countries in educational legislative work. Since the end of World War II, many countries in the world have attached great importance to, and have adopted many measures for, their educational undertakings. One of the measures has been to strengthen

their educational legislative work. Some of their methods are worth studying and referring to. For example, their relatively perfect educational legislation. Since the war, in addition to the promulgation of its basic law of education, Japan has formulated more than 180 laws and regulations related to education including: education administration law; education finance law; school education law; social education law; and educational staff law. Take coordinating the relations between education and outside through legislation as another example. Since the 1950's, the FRG has, one by one, formulated a series of laws concerning vocational education, such as vocational education law, law to promote vocational education, and youth labor protection law. Coordinating the relations between education and outside has given full play to the role of enterprises in developing vocational education. This has enabled the close coordination between the two systems of enterprises and schools to be established on the foundation of observing the same laws. Therefore, both enterprises and schools have laws to follow and act according to laws. Take adopting legislative means to promote reform and development in educational undertakings for a third example. The United States was fiercely shocked by the Soviet Union's success in launching the first satellite, and exclaimed that its education had lagged behind. Therefore, it promulgated its National Defense Education Law, stressing the reform in the teaching of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and foreign languages in their schools of various grades in order to "meet the new challenge to the United States that the Soviet Union had initiated, in classrooms." In order to meet the demand resulting from the rapid development of science and technology, since 1962, the United States has four times approved bills to strengthen vocational education and thus enabled its vocational education to develop quickly. Now, many countries in the world have in turn started their high tide of educational reform. It seems that as educational reform deepens and develops, there will certainly be new progress in educational legislative work. This trend is worth paying attention to and studying. Of course, foreign experience can only be regarded as a reference and can never be copied. In carrying out educational legislative work, we should also start from China's national conditions and proceed from our country's reality.

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SONGS OF OUR NEW SWANS--AN INFORMAL DISCUSSION ON THREE NEW FILMS WITH THE THEME OF LIFE IN THE RURAL AREAS

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[Article by Huang Mei [5435 3561]]

[Text] Just as I stepped into the new year, I saw three films reflecting the new features and new people in the rural areas: "Our Discharged Soldier," "The Enchanting Band," and "The Vagrant and the Swan." It was as if a spring wind had already swept away the freezing winter and brought a warm fresh atmosphere which stirred the heart and had great vitality.

The speed of growth attained in our nation's rural production over the last few years has rarely been seen in the past. This is basically the result of the reforms, motivating the enthusiasm of 800 million peasants and greatly liberating the productive forces. The enlivening of the rural economy has produced very good conditions for the urban reforms and for the development of the overall national economy. At present, the rural economic situation is continuing to develop and the tide of reform has reached places throughout the nation, resulting in earthshaking changes in the features of the vast majority of villages. With the improvement of the economic conditions of hundreds of millions of peasants and the changes in their life-styles, inevitably hard-to-imagine changes have taken place in ideas, mentality, thoughts, and feelings. Unfortunately, these great changes of long-lasting historical significance have been insufficiently reflected in cinematic art creations. This explains why works reflecting rural life and realities fall far behind the actual situation.

The three films mentioned above, as well as two films seen last year, "Inn of Lovesick Women" and "Wild Mountains," reveal, from different angles, the prelude to the vital tide of the rural reforms, and record a new page of history of our nation's hundreds of millions of peasants in the eighties.

As an old soldier on the film front about to retire, I wish to warmly congratulate all the creative people who worked on these films for the achievements they have realized, and also wish to warmly thank them for portraying so ebulliently, so realistically, and so vividly the images of the new people in our rural reforms and for extolling their fine spirit. I particularly wish to thank Ma Feng [7456 3526], Sun Qian [1327 6197], Gu Hua [0657 5478], Jia Pingao [6328 1627 0425], Fang Chunru [2075 4783 1172], Yang Shuhui [2799 5289 1979],

and Chen Yun [7115 5366], who, although they are not professional screenwriters, have provided a very good base. These writers have long been deeply involved in rural life and are very familiar with the peasants. Thus they have been able to create these rich images of village atmosphere and the realistic and moving images of new peasants.

At present, there is a view that holds that because the reforms are being carried out in continuous turbulence, there is no fixed pattern, and it is possible that some specific policies may still be changed, we should not rush into depicting the reforms, and our creations should be a little more distant from life. Actually this is a mistaken understanding, because it overlooks the artistic laws governing a "writer." Regardless of what type of life is being reflected or what topic is being depicted, it is not "depiction of policies," and cannot be considered the "depiction of reforms." Rather it is, in the end, the depiction of people. If we do not go into life and do not understand the various changes in people's spiritual mien which have been brought about by the tide of reform, if we do not understand the various contradictions in the new and old concepts, ideological feelings, and mental attitudes, as well as different dispositions given rise to by changes in economic forms and life-styles, but, in accordance with one model or centered on one specific reform plan, simply try to describe who is supporting the reform, who is opposing it, who is correct, who is wrong, who is the positive character, who represents the party's policies...the result will just be a diagram of the policies. We have had such films in various periods, but very few of them have left any images. In this respect "Our Discharged Soldier" and the other four films have made pleasing explorations and can be said to have achieved a breakthrough.

In "Our Discharged Soldier," when Erhu returns to his village, he is enthusiastic about starting a specialized transport household. His brother has made good preparations for him and a beautiful young woman is waiting to marry him. However, he is a party member and he discovers that in the village there is so much unemployed labor--a number of strong young men. He also discovers the straitened circumstances of the young deaf woman and her father. He feels that he has an obligation to resolve the contradictions and the difficulties, so as to help the people of his village become prosperous together. However, the road of reform is not smooth. He puts great effort into coking, but meets defeat. At the same time, he loses his beloved, and then, finally, he charges down a new road. Erhu certainly does not bring any reform program back to the village, but as an outstanding soldier of the people, the concept of the collective, the ideological feelings, and the tendencies he develops while with his troop result in his being unable to concern himself only with making his own family prosperous. He loves his village and loves his young friends. Within his fine soul, there is a broader world. Thus, even though he sacrifices the opportunity to make his own family rich and loses the one he loves, he cannot change his nature of "liking to help other people." Thus, the conflict which arises between him and his brother and with his fiancee, and which finally leads to the rupturing of their relationships, is inevitable. The experiences and fate of Erhu are not unexpected and are not arbitrarily arranged by the writer. Rather, they are what would logically be expected from the nature of a young party member and discharged soldier.

What is particularly moving about this film is that when Shui Xian is being carried in her bridal vehicle and it gets stuck in the mud and cannot move, it is Erhu who rushes in with a shovel.... He digs out the mud and fills in the hole with stones, causing his loved one to feel ashamed and guilty, and she leaves the village with tears pouring down her cheeks. He is deeply hurt by this. However, when, suddenly, he receives the second stone from Yanan, he sees that her face is both stained with mud and filled with a look of deep love. He feels a profound sympathy and a firm affection.

Finally, when, after being missing 2 months without a trace, Erhu, with a full beard and dressed in rags, meets Yanan in the already destroyed coking area, he says only one sentence: "I have spent 2 months as a Taoist, trying to obtain the pills of immortality..." Then he sits in the back of Yanan's car and they move off. This scene reminds one of the scene when he has just come back from his troop and he meets happily with Shui Xian. At the same time, the audience also feels that the sincere heart of this "immortality-seeking Taoist" has moved Yanan, and can foresee the beginning of a new life for Erhu.

The film does not explain what sort of coking skills Erhu has obtained, but people are deeply moved by his fine spirit of giving his all for the people. If all of our nation's hundreds of thousands of discharged soldiers had such a true, fine spirit, and had the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain, then they could detonate a large number of spiritual atomic bombs among the 800 million peasants! If they brought into play the fine traditions of the Army, who knows how much prosperity they could bring to the country and the people, and how much in the way of abilities they could contribute to the motherland's four modernizations!

As a sister work of "Our Niu Baisui," "Our Discharged Soldier" maintains Comrade Zhao Huanzhang's [6392 3562 4545] style: The contradiction of a rich drama coming from images of very ordinary life, the outstanding characteristics of the individual characters, the changes which occur in the human relationships and the changes in feelings, give the film something of a comic atmosphere, causing people to smile through their tears, just like his depiction of the simple, stalwart youth, with complex contradictions and pain in his heart, who wears a smile tinged with tears, which causes people to feel sorry for him and feel affection for him. It can also be said that many of the comedies he directs have a farcical hue, allowing people to see that life itself is so frenetic and causing them to laugh heartily. Although the waves of life bring many tears, they cannot conceal that current which pushes forward and assails our souls. In terms of what our nation's vast rural audiences have traditionally enjoyed, I believe that this style is very necessary. In 1984, "Our Niu Baisui" was seen by 110 million people. Also, 700 million tickets have been sold for "Door of Great Happiness." The success of these two films demonstrates the above point. In the eighties our hundreds of millions of prospering peasants are laughing goodbye to the images projected in former films of peasants with worn and tattered clothes, worried looks, long faces, and continual tears.

Of course, if we wish to reflect the rich diversity of life, we should welcome a diversity of styles. In this article I do not intend to discuss what is

light comedy, what is serious drama with comic touches, whether serious drama can have a comic hue, and such questions. Likewise, I do not believe that there is a need to put a label on a film before it is shown.

Whether we are talking about light comedy or serious drama with a comic hue, another vivid example of a film which brings enjoyment and excitement to people is "The Enchanting Band."

The reason "The Enchanting Band" is so fresh and appealing and so brisk and elegant is that it does not touch on the rapids and the reefs of the tide of reform and does not reflect the deep-going and acute contradictory struggles. However, the ocean of life has both grand scenes of whirling torrents and waves reaching to the heavens, and blue skies and peaceful seas, contrasting beautifully with each other. They stretch as far as the eye can see. Everywhere is full of magnificent, brilliant, tender care, making people feel relaxed and happy, and one cannot suppress a little knowing smile. This film grasps in a timely way one aspect of the backdrop of current life and grows from this.

I do not know why the screenwriter called this script "The Enchanting Band." I remember, at the end of the year before last, reading a report entitled "The Desheng Village Peasant Brass Band." I was thrilled by it and sent a letter to Comrade Ma Lin [7456 2651], who was at that time the responsible person at the Beijing Film Corporation, saying:

"I suggest that a young editor or scriptwriter have a good look at this. It is a very vivid story and a film should be made of it. It is a really laudable thing that Chinese peasants, who for several thousand years have been in such straitened circumstances, should in 2 short years raise funds for and organize a brass band to give free performances. It is a very new subject!"

However, in my mind I still had no image of "The Enchanting Band" and later I was not satisfied with the first draft of the script. Finally, the director and the writer went out into life to learn through experience and observation, and on the basis of the original script, carried out further revision. The result was a film, novel to both the ears and the eyes. Watching the film is like listening to a bright, lithe, and moving symphony, and one really feels that this truly is an enchanting band!

The achievements of the film lie in that it does not follow former structural formats. It begins with a dispute over whether there is a need to start this brass band and then centers on the images of the two sides, one of which supports the idea while the other opposes it. This creates contradictions and disputes, which show that the eventual establishment of the band is a victory in an ideological struggle.

What is interesting about the film is the great enthusiasm and fine spirit of this band of "bumpkins"--Xin Tianxi, Qu Lixin, Zhang Kuiwu, and Wei Bao--who indulge in this wild idea, and who seek, and even become infatuated with, this new spiritual life, which previously they would not even have dared to dream of.

The way the opening of the film is handled is very novel: A group of seemingly rough "country bumpkins" charges into a music shop. None of them knows the names of the instruments, but instead point, make gestures, and shout, wanting to buy a horn like a big cabbage.... This gang of "bumpkins" is not happy with the disbelieving attitude of the shop assistant and, not heeding the conductor's warning, adopt a "we have money so show us some respect" posture. They are busy arranging for the starting up of their band! With that outstanding and endearing actor He Wei playing Xin Tianxi, with his unusual temperament, the curtain opens on "The Enchanting Band."

This is just like what often happens on the road of life, when we accidentally meet a stranger who immediately gives us a favorable impression and an impression of being trustworthy, and then perhaps becomes a life-long friend.

The director said that as soon as she saw the script, she thought of He Wei. As soon as I saw He Wei in the opening scene, I also felt that he could make a success of this enchanting band. After he and Jin Shentong have drunk a few glasses, he suddenly spits out the truth: First, this band needs developing and improving! Second, I...will not marry anyone but her! When he turns his back and starts sobbing sadly, I also truly felt the fascination of He Wei and was really touched by the worry which his two loves brought him. The strength of his sobbing, the sound of which is not regular, truly tugged at my soul. In Xin Tianxi's heart, there is an enchanting song. He loves life and understands that he must "push forward singing a song." He firmly believes that we can "ask grain from the ground and fruit from the hills" and that we can also "ask a beautiful sound" from brass instruments. In his heart, he also has a firm love: "I would rather give up the last half of my life than suffer through it with unrequited love. I will not marry anyone but her." Of course, when he is arranging the band's affairs, the person in his heart--the village head Li Chunfang--also treats him badly. Her treatment of him brings a tightness to his stomach and he suffers great pain.

However, life does not disappoint those who set their mind to a task, and the two tunes in Xin Tianxi's heart are finally successfully achieved. The magnificence, dignity, and firmness of the music shakes the petrels from their reefs in the sea, and all the people in the village, on hearing the music of "the never-setting bright red sun," like the petrels, take flight and soar. Can Li Chunfang's heart perch, like a petrel, alone, outside this warm glow?

The superiority of this film lies in the harmonious blending of the enchanting band and Xin Tianxi's love problems. It again vividly proves that giving characters a realistic vividness, giving them an individuality in terms of their innermost feelings and their spiritual mien, and truly using spiritual beauty to touch the audience is very important to the success of a film. When the backbone of the film, Xin Tianxi, soars like a petrel who really loves life and sings about it, it is a fulfillment of the theme of the film, which is a song about the new life.

The peasant language throughout the film is terse and simple, always showing the true thoughts of the peasants. There are no lectures. As, together with

the characters in the film, we enjoy listening to the enchanting band play "In the Fields of Hope," we likewise really hope that Li Chunfang will not give her informed opinion as a representative of writers and critics. This looks at village life from only one angle, from only one side, and even is a little fortuitous--but the interlude played by the Western band started up by the bumpkins clearly tells us that the hopes of and way forward for our nation's 800 million peasants lie in reform.

The director, Wang Haowei [3769 1170 3634], continues to maintain her style: She strives to portray, simply and naturally, the realities of life, in a lucid, smooth, and humorous way, and is good at using the details of life to portray the individual characteristics of the characters. What is appealing about this film is the novelty of the topic, and that in its simplicity it is able to evoke a special, fresh, and elegant atmosphere. Of course, the film has some shortcomings. For example, Xin Tianxi's motive for starting the band and his musical level should both have been lifted a little (not too high). At the same time, if he had been shown to have similar determination in concrete production leadership and development, then Xin Tianxi's heart would have had three tunes. Thus, perhaps, the sounds of this little enchanting band would have been more vigorous, richer, and more satisfying.

I also greatly liked "The Vagrant and the Swan," which also has its own special style. It is like a lyric poem, and also like a Chinese landscape painting with its subtle shades of light and dark. It has much of the appeal of poetry and painting. However, much like the moving images of ripples on a beautiful, peaceful lake, or a pair of magnificent circling swans in the sunlight, make a deep impression in our hearts, similarly the sad fate and destiny of the unfortunate young man and woman in the village, Mo Zhuoer and Xing Hua, are stamped in our minds. This is especially so of Mo Zhuoer, who has not even the smallest piece of land, whose family has no house, and who even goes to pick up plates and bowls in restaurants so that he can eat the leftovers. He has also been born ugly, and is thus an ugly duckling who finds it difficult to gain people's love. However, both he and Xing Hua have beautiful hearts.

Mo Zhuoer drifts from place to place, but his heart never leaves his village, Swan Lake, where there are reedy ponds everywhere and where the swans come to stay in large numbers. He decides to end his wandering career and fully bring into play his fish-raising knowledge, thereby entering the tide of the reforms. He is a good swimmer and can catch fish at the bottom of the lake. He also knows all about where the swans hide, but he has never thought of harming them as he dearly loves these swans. Also, because he is good at swimming, it is he who inadvertently is the one to save Xing Hua, who is trying to drown herself after suffering a setback in her love life. From empathy to adoration, he takes Xing Hua as the swan of his heart, but he feels ashamed of his ugliness and pushes this tender bud of love to the bottom of the lake that is his heart. He only fears that the wind and rain might stir up the lake's water, causing this tender bud to be uncovered, or that people might see the shadow of this bud through the glass-like surface of the lake. He uses all sorts of concealing devices, but finally lets the windows of Xing Hua's soul--her two perceptive eyes--discover this ugly duckling's "affection!" Mo Zhuoer finally attracts this injured swan, Xing Hua, and together they soar.

The film takes the earthy atmosphere of the southern river regions and the simple and fine hearts of the ordinary peasants, and then uses, as a clever foil, fresh individuality and the world of innermost being. The contrasting of the moving image of Xing Hua, who is delicate, deeply emotional, and loyal in her love, with the vagrant who has a sense of inferiority, whose clothes are worn and tattered, and who is ugly, is very strong. This causes the viewers to sincerely feel: The pairs of beautiful swans which continually flash before the eyes on the silver screen, flying wing to wing and soaring into the blue skies, and in the wind and rain snuggling up close to each other deep in the reeds...they are all images of the mutual love Xing Hua and Mo Zhuoer should have for each other.

Within the film there are many metaphors, hidden actions, and implied mental depictions. These are both rich in authenticity and stimulating to thought. In bumping people's souls, they produce a thrill. However, it is not a strong shock or a violent attack, but a soft comforting. Although it is light, it can, however, produce a deep reverberating pulse in the heart! This is a film strong in artistic conception and imagery. The beauty of the hidden artistic description lies in the gleam of the happy souls of Mo Zhuoer and Xing Hua as they obtain real freedom and liberation during the reforms, and also in the gleam of the director's meticulous artistry. It is truly pleasing and worthy of congratulations that Comrade Wu Yinxun [0702 5593 1789] has explored so assiduously and has striven so hard to achieve a film with ideological depth and an artistic ingenuity producing both beauty and balance!

In 1985, while many films were infatuated with the flash and glint of cold steel, seeking "box-office appeal" and neglecting artistic quality, these three films, as well as "Inn of Lovesick Women" and "Wild Mountains," reflected the new face of the villages, reflected the great changes in the lifestyles, ideas, feelings, and thoughts of the peasants, and the growing up of a new generation of peasants--actually this was the bursting forth of an incalculable, earth-shaking force which moved the heart and which for many centuries had been deeply hidden below all sorts of fetters and oppression!

Is not the changing of an ugly duckling into a white swan an extremely vivid harbinger?

Deep in the secluded areas of the borders and the wild mountains flew the lovely phoenixes Guan Yinjie and Gui Lan. Who would have predicted that in the vast and remote mountains and plains they could have flown so high and so far?

Could not all the members of the enchanting band play the bold and forthright tune in Xin Tianxi's heart?

When the fireworks in the hearts of Erhu, Yanan, and Tie Dan were ignited by the coking, where did the wicks have to burn to before they set off a great red glow? If our scriptwriters and authors are able to nestle their hearts against the great earth of the motherland, in the same way as Comrades Ma Feng and Sun Qian, who are both over 60 years of age, have done, and persist in going to the villages every year to observe and investigate, who knows how many enchanting tunes will be played?

If our female directors, like Comrade Dong Kena [5516 0344 1226], from her first film, "A Stalk of Grass on Kunlun Shan," to "Miss Ming" and "Inn of Love-sick Women," pay attention, from beginning to end, to the destiny of China's young women, and explore the beauty of their souls, who knows how many good, beautiful, sincere, and lovely souls will be found, waiting to be unearthed, among the hundreds of millions of women! How many magnificent, fragrant, and enchanting apricot blossoms, peach blossoms, cassia blossoms, and orchids are waiting to open!

Our artists should go to the villages to understand the hopes and demands of the peasants in respect of the new life, and to listen to their happy laughter!

These five 1985 films, which show the new people and new happenings in the rural areas, contrast greatly with the many mediocre and uninteresting films of the same year. These films, which reflect rural life, pursue new things and achieve new breakthroughs in ideological depth, artistic exploration, individuality of character, and depiction of inner being, as well as in acting, photography, music, and design. Of course, the three films mentioned above all have their faults in terms of their ideological depth and artistic consummation. Thus, if they were to be held up as examples and were discussed and studied, and experiences were summed up, much enlightenment and inspiration could be gained.

China is the country with the largest population in the world and the country with the greatest number of peasants. It also has the largest number of film goers, and especially of peasant film goers. Our nation's reforms started with rural reforms, and the agricultural reforms are the base and focal point in leading the way for the overall economic reforms. Allowing hundreds of millions of peasants--in fact, allowing all peasants--to bid farewell to history with a laugh, should be, I feel, the take-off point for films.

How could our talented artists who really love the people not realize this enchanting dream?

The fates of Xin Tianxi, Erhu, Tie Dan, Mo Zhuoer, Yanan, Xing Hua, and so on have bloomed in a riot of color all over the country, and they are also lucky new swans soaring in the great current of the reforms and hovering wing to wing and in flocks. All of them are singing, from their hearts, a song full of the love of life. They are singing the exquisite and Chinese-style "song of our new swans."

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## CROSS SCIENCE--A STUDY INTO MULTI-BRANCHES OF LEARNING

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[Article by Sun Xiaoli [1327 3773 4409]; passages within slantlines published with underlining]

### [Text] Important Significance of Cross Science in Scientific Development

In general, the development of science takes two different forms. One of them is the unilateral form of learning, while the other is the cross or multi-form of learning. The former goes forward within the realm of specialized learning that has already been formed. It studies the old and the new problems therein, and ceaselessly assimilates the results of the studies, thus reflecting that in the realm of the learning already existing in mankind's knowledge of things has become daily more penetrating and intensive. The latter goes forward in the cross realms of different branches of learning, studies the problems of the various kinds of multi-branches of learning, and thus continuously increases the fruits of the researches, reflecting that the objects and methods of man's knowledge are heading in the direction of synthesis. By means of the studies of the problems of the multi-branches of learning, the knowledge, ideas and methods in the realms of different branches of learning are joined and welded together, gradually forming a new branch of learning--cross learning.

Cross science, as is the general name for the various kinds of cross branches of learning, is still a developing concept, and is also called the science of the multi-branches of learning. Our practice is to put under the name of cross science, whatever realm of study breaks through the original limits, contents and methods of research of a specialized learning, and touches on two or more branches of learning. The scope of scientific research it covers is rather extensive. As for the many cross branches of learning which have now been generated, they may be classified according to various different ways, forms and special features. However, here we shall mainly discuss the following several categories: One is frontier learning. This is a branch of learning emanating from the study of the cross problems between two branches of learning. It may be the cross or intermix of two branches of learning of the natural sciences, such as geomechanics, biochemistry, biophysics, and so forth; it may also be the cross of two branches of learning of the social sciences, such as economic law, educational economics, and so forth; and it

may also be the cross of the two large categories of learning of the natural and social sciences, such as scientific sociology, technical economics, and so forth. Another category is synthesized learning which has developed through studies of certain problems of a synthesized nature. That is to say, the research problems themselves are extremely complex, requiring for their solution knowledge in many branches of learning, and also requiring various kinds of knowledge of the natural and social sciences, such as oceanology, environmental science, energy science, and so forth. Still another category is that of horizontal or converse learning, or horizontally oriented learning, which consists of branches of learning developed from studies of various kinds of objects or certain common problems in various specialized branches of learning, such as the theory of control, theory of information, theory of system, and so forth.

With the study of the problem of cross learning as a start, and the scope of research gradually marked out, when the accumulation of the research results has reached a sizable quantity and the research contents and research methods have reached a definite degree of independence, a systematized branch of learning will gradually take shape and will have its own problems awaiting more intensive research. For example, physical chemistry and biophysics have in this way become branches of specialized learning. Hence, of the so-called unilateral branches of learning at present, many possess the characteristics of cross learning. Following the development of science, the proportion of cross branches of learning will grow increasingly larger.

The history of the development of science has shown: The frontier problem and the cross problem between different branches of learning are the vital growth points of science. This is because these problems were not originally anticipated by the various branches of specialized learning, being blank areas in the realms of knowledge and thus still undeveloped virgin soil. If scientific cultivating is skillfully applied here, it is certain that new achievements in knowledge can be attained. A century ago, Engels cited electrochemistry as an example to point out the importance of frontier learning. He said: "Regarding the contact point between molecular science and atomic science, both sides have claimed that they are not related to each other. However, /it is precisely on this point that the biggest results can be hoped for."/ ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, pp 635-636) The theories of electrochemistry were developed after the electricians and the chemists had come to the understanding that the functions of electricity and the functions of chemistry did "relate to each other," and followed up with the study of the phenomena of electrochemistry. The role of the theory of knowledge possessed by cross science is its conversion of problems which the various branches of specialized learning once considered to be "not related to themselves" and hence not worth noting, into objects of study "related to themselves," thereby linking together and synthesizing the knowledge, ideas and methods originally scattered among the various branches of specialized learning and separated from each other, and thus opening up new avenues of knowledge.

The cross or converse branches of learning mentioned above, possess the special feature of being more abstract than ordinary learning. The results

of the studies on them carry an important significance for the theory of methodology. For example, the theory of system tells us that in studying complex matters, knowledge from various branches of learning must be employed. If we use Di-ka-er's [4564 0595 1422] habitual research method of first making an analysis and then following up with synthesizing, then success can hardly be attained. This is because complex matters do not constitute the sum total of the various dissected parts and the nature and functions of the whole are not the sum total of the nature and functions of the various parts. The Austrian biology theorist Bei-ta-lang-fei [6296 1044 2597 5481] (1901-1972) pointed out: The traditional method carried out in studying the various parts and the various processes cannot describe wholly the phenomena of life. This type of research does not provide us with information on the coordination of the various parts and processes. In the 1940's, he created the first general theory of system and offered the populace a new line of thought radically different from that of the traditional method. This was that in regard to a system, he would start from the system as a whole and study the reciprocal relationships and reciprocal functions between the system and its sub-divisions (or factors); between the sub-divisions (or factors) themselves; and between the system itself and its outside environment, and thereby grasp the system's character and the laws governing it from the system as a whole and the developments. Although the theory of system has derived its start from biology, its ideas and method are applicable to the study of various complex problems of nature and society, and thus possesses the important functions of the theory of methodology.

In possessing the functions of the theory of knowledge and the theory of methodology, cross science will inevitably become indispensable to mankind's progress in the realms of knowledge and science.

#### Inevitability of the Growth and Development of Cross Science

Looking back at the history of scientific development, it may be said that in general it has passed through the process of synthesis--disintegration--synthesis again. In ancient times, because of the limitations of low level productive forces, man principally depended on the experience of sense perception to make a direct, visible and full examination of things. Although due to practical needs, mathematics, astronomy and other branches of specialized learning had appeared rather early, broadly speaking, scientific knowledge at that time was rather general and synthesized, and practically no difference existed between science and philosophy. Up to and after the growth of modern natural sciences, due to the split of scientific experimentation from the production practices becoming a special form of practice for mankind and also an important scientific research method, man has been able to employ machines and tools, and, through scientific observation and tests, to probe into the secrets of nature. Particularly after Ka-li-lui [8026 0448 3970] started a new path of study through the integration of the experimental method with the mathematical method, scientists have begun to conduct more intensively and meticulously classified experiments and studies on the various kinds of natural phenomena, and have become able to mathematically sum up the various categories of natural laws. By so doing, they have formed a series of relatively systematic scientific knowledge, and a

series of specialized branches of learning in natural sciences such as mechanics, physics, and chemistry began to appear. Since then, natural sciences which had adopted the experiment-mathematics method as the principal method of study, gradually parted company with philosophy. Modern natural sciences, being relatively more advanced in learning technique, have increased man's learning capacity and accumulated a relatively rich storage of natural scientific knowledge. They are thus far more advanced in knowledge than the general and sense perception type of knowledge of the sciences in ancient times. However, the partition of sciences into various independent sectors, with people confined to studies within their respective specialized fields of learning can readily develop the trend of forming very narrow views and bring about a method of thinking which is isolated and static in looking at problems. This method of thinking hinders the development of man's knowledge.

The realm of nature is intrinsically a formation in which various kinds of phenomena are mutually related and the functions of various kinds of concrete laws are interlocked with each other. The natural world and human society are compositions which are related to each other and have interlocked functions. Between them there is no impassable gap. Human beings, to a certain degree, are the products of the development of the natural world. Since the existence of mankind, the natural world has become a vast theater for human activities. In the course of mankind utilizing and remaking nature, a humanized natural world is formed and the development of this type of natural world becomes all the more related to the development of human society. Hence, development of human knowledge must break through the limits of the various sciences which man himself has demarcated, in order that man's knowledge of nature, of society and of mankind itself can be linked up and related. Science cannot forever remain in a disintegrated state but must progress from disintegration to synthesis and then forming a whole. Early in his "1844 Manuscripts on Economic Philosophy," Marx had already made some pertinent comments. He said: "History itself is a /real/ portion of /natural history/, that is, the process of mankind's evolution in the natural world. In future, natural sciences will include sciences pertinent to man just as the latter will include the former: This will be a branch of science in itself." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 128)

Certain outstanding scientists, such as the German physicist Pronx who first propounded the quantum theory in 1900, have a deep knowledge of the composite nature of science. He said: Science is an intrinsic whole; its disintegration into separate departments is not determined by the nature of things but by the limitations of man's capacity of knowledge. In reality, a continuous chain exists from physics to chemistry and from biology and anthropology to the social sciences. It is a chain which cannot be broken at any point.

Since the beginning of this century, cross branches of learning have endlessly emerged in large numbers. This is a result exactly in keeping with this natural tendency of sciences proceeding in the direction of synthesis. Naturally, modern science does not simply revert to "synthesis," or replace "disintegration" with "synthesis." More correctly, it may be said that the

sum total of the special features of the development of modern science is the unification of a high degree of disintegration with a high degree of synthesis. A "high degree of disintegration," so-called, refers to the branches of learning becoming increasingly minute and the branches of science becoming increasingly larger in number. And the so-called "high degree of synthesis" refers to the reciprocal relationships between different branches of learning becoming increasingly closer and their reciprocal infiltration, increasingly deeper. The new branches of learning from disintegration are frequently cross branches of learning. Disintegration comes from the synthesis of branches of learning and is also the precondition of further synthesis, whereas new synthesis is the preparatory step for the appearance of a new disintegration and new cross learning. Current science is not simply like a continuous chain but a criss-crossed solid network-structure, and cross science is a lively character on this scientific rostrum.

Viewed from the historical conditions and trend of development of cross science, the cross phenomenon appeared comparatively more early and more frequently in the various sectors of the natural sciences. Very early, a series of cross branches of learning were already formed within the natural sciences. Subsequently, natural sciences gradually infiltrated into the social sciences and the emergence of a "strong tide of natural sciences infiltrating into the social sciences" was becoming more evident. In 1914, Lenin pointed out that this tide was becoming even stronger in the 20th century. In reality, after the 1940's and the 1950's, certain sectors of learning, which in the past were closely related to the natural sciences such as mathematics for example, had gradually infiltrated into the studies of the social sciences, causing the latter to gradually assimilate the elements of quantity and rigidity. Take again, for example, the theory of system which has evolved from biology; the theory of information formed through studies on the theories of communication technology; and the theory of control which has grown from studies on the automatic control system. Their basic concept and their basic line of thought have already increasingly affected and produced strong functional effects on studies in social science. Moreover, certain problems originally emerging from the natural sciences, such as the space, oceanology and energy problems, could not avoid being related to many problems in social science and even global social problems. At the same time, the study of certain problems originally emerging from the social sector, such as problems concerning population forecast and control, has increasingly sought help from mathematics and the research methods of the natural sciences. Certain new branches of learning emerging in recent years, such as urban science, environmental science, ideological science, management science, and so on, are all of a highly synthesized type and all manifest the integration of natural sciences and social sciences. Take environmental science for example. It is related not only to the basic sciences such as earth science, biology, chemistry, and physics, but also to the technological sciences such as medicine, engineering and to the social sciences such as economics, law, sociology, education and so forth. Hence Comrade Qian Sanjiang said: "It may be anticipated that in certain respects, from the end of this century to the beginning of the next century, the era will be one of the cross sciences." The oncoming era of cross science is in reality an era of cross science embodying the special feature of the integration of natural sciences and social sciences.

## Actively Promoting the Development of Cross Science To Meet the Needs of the Four Modernizations

For the sake of realizing our country's four modernizations program and catching up with the tide of global scientific development, we should vigorously promote the development of cross science, particularly the development of cross science between the natural and social sciences.

Since the 1960's, particularly during the last 20 years, cross science on the international scene has prospered with every passing day. There is daily an increasing number of blendings in different forms between natural sciences and social sciences. In certain developed countries, various kinds of influential cross science organizations have been formed, such as scholastic bodies, research structures, research centers, and so forth. Some synthetic cross science research institutes have been considered important "think tanks," while certain scholastic organs of cross branch learning have developed into international organizations. In comparison, the situation in our country, due to certain historical reasons and reasons of understanding, is rather behind in this regard and, in reality, a wide gap is still found at present between the natural and social sciences. If this gap is not filled, then our country's scientific development will be impeded.

The study and development of cross science is definitely not just up to the individual whims or wishes of certain people, but is the realistic need of the objective laws and social practices in the development of science. We should be relatively keen and, without losing the opportunity of grasping those problems of cross learning which can become the growth points of scientific development, particularly the problems in the criss-crossed areas of the natural and social sciences, be skillful in organizing the scattered forces to study them. Of these problems, many have emerged from the theoretical side but an even larger number have emerged from actual practice. The real problems which need to be studied and solved in modern society are mostly of a synthetic nature. Take for example the problems of the reform which our country is now carrying out on various sides, such as the problems of maintenance and improvement of the ecological environment which urgently need solution; problems of opening up and utilizing resources; problems of building and engineering; and various management problems of the social system. These are, in general, neither pure and simple social problems, nor pure and simple scientific and technological problems. For their solution, they do not depend solely on the natural sciences or the social sciences. Rather, to overcome the difficulties, they require specialists from various industries and trades to work in unison and devote their common efforts. In the past 3 years, the Chinese Academy of Sciences has transferred 286 persons from 19 research institutes to form a technological contingent to attack difficult problems. The contingent took on the overall study and treatment of the Huang-Huai-Hai flatland, and obtained and promoted over 40 research results. Through conducting extensive field surveys and studies of materials, it set up a mathematical model for the region's rural development and allocation of resources, and thus provided a scientific basis for the further development and treatment of the Huang-Huai-Hai region. This is a case in point of the outstanding results attained. This planned crossing of different branches of

learning to link together various kinds of forces to jointly study and solve real problems of importance, serves as an important link in manifesting the superiority of our socialist system and in building socialism with special Chinese characteristics.

For the sake of promoting the development of cross science, we should highly regard and support the work of the pioneers in cross science. Generally speaking, localities which have a comparatively long history in the study of various branches of learning, and have a relatively strong force in this regard, not only have the advantage of continuing the development of the various branches of learning already in existence, but also possess beneficial conditions and strength in developing cross science. However, it is precisely these localities which can easily be fettered by traditional biases. When the research worker of one branch of learning studies the problems of another branch of learning, he will frequently be considered as "not in the right trade," and may be subjected to jeers of being "anxious to be modern," "taking a short-cut," and so forth. He may be slighted by people of the other branch of learning for not being conversant with the specialized branch. At the same time, in regard to the problem of cross learning, it may not be possible at the start to find and use suitable terms well-known to those concerned in explaining problems and matters, and this may cause the whole proposition to be regarded lightly. All this is highly disadvantageous to the development of cross learning. In reality, what is the "right trade," and how to treat "being modern" and "seeking the short-cut" can be subjected to various interpretations. In the history of science many scientists have been firmly entrenched in their specialized posts all their lives, penetrated deeply into the studies and made superior contributions. There were also certain scientists who at a specific time "opened their gates," became integrated with other specialized lines, and made important accomplishments. For example, physicist Xue Ding-e boldly invaded the biological field, employed the principles of quantum mechanics and thermodynamics to study life activities and vigorously promoted the development of molecular biology. Again, take the case of mathematician Wiener who, on the basis of many years of mathematics work, studied the problem of control of animals and machines, and became the founder of the theory of control. Currently in the world, particularly in the developed countries, many natural scientists are oriented to the social sciences, and this has become a tidal wave in the development of modern science. In our country, what can be wrong with certain people doing arduous scientific work in the criss-crossed area of natural sciences and social sciences and emerging rapidly with new discoveries? Scientific work of this kind frequently meets with such difficulties as shortage of manpower, material power and financial power. If it is not given spiritual encouragement and material support, it may wither and die. The fruits of labor of the pioneers in cross science should be highly regarded. If we should take to task those whose work results in this respect may not be mature enough or whose theories are not sufficiently integrated, it would dampen the enthusiasm of people engaging in research work on cross learning. Naturally, regarding the studies on cross learning, it is also necessary to take note of, prevent, and overcome the scholastic style of bragging, vanity, being unrealistic and having empty pride.

In order that education may be oriented toward modernization, to the world, and to the future, it is necessary to duly consider the training of talents for cross learning. Our vision must be longer and broader and we must consider needs. Division of the students in the higher middle schools into arts students and science students, and the rigid demarcation between arts and science courses in the higher institutions of learning, do not agree with the current scientific trend. As for the kind of work aiming at integrating the arts and science courses the result will be that the courses neither belong to the arts nor to the sciences, and if no appropriate degrees could be conferred then it would be all the more irrational. All this should be speedily rectified. We should adopt certain concrete measures to organize, in a planned manner, the scientific workers in the different branches of learning, set up research centers and research organs on certain problems of cross learning, and train research students on cross learning. We can also establish certain synthetic courses, enforce a dual-degree system, link together the natural sciences, technical sciences and social sciences, and integrate philosophy with other departments of learning. It is extremely necessary to take active steps to welcome the coming of the new era of cross science and make the necessary contributions to training talented persons suited to the needs of the new era.

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COMMENTS ON SOCIOBIOLOGY AND ITS THEORY OF 'SELFISH HUMAN NATURE'

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[Article by Zhu Zhangchao [2612 7022 6389]]

[Text]

I

Sociobiology is a science which appeared in the United States in the 1970's. In 1975 the American sociobiologist Wilson wrote the book "Sociobiology: The New Synthesis." The majority of the chapters in this book are about biology and especially about entomology. A major reason this book attracted wide attention is that in it Wilson put forward the basic thesis of sociobiology. In the same period, another major representative figure in sociobiology, Trivers, also put forward some ideas using sociobiology to explain some social phenomena.

According to Wilson, sociobiology is "a science which studies the biological basis of all social behavior." It not only studies the social behavior of animals, but also the social behavior of man. It not only studies the biological source of animals' behavior, but also studies the biological source of man's behavior. In the view of sociobiologists: First, animal evolution is not only evolution in terms of form, but also evolution in terms of behavior. Thus, animal behavior is the result of tens of millions of years of natural selection. The behavior of animals and of man is the product of evolution, and they have their own evolutionary history. Second, the leading part in all processes of biological evolution is played by genes, and biological organisms are nothing but the carriers of genes. Individuals are transitory, while genes are everlasting. Genes are selfish and have a tendency to expand themselves without limit. Genes control the organism and genes control behavior, and all social behavior can be explained in terms of the theory of selfish genes. From this, they put forward the ideas of the decisive role of genes on human nature and of selfish human nature.

How did sociobiology come about? We should make a concrete analysis of this question. Some people now see sociobiology as a product of the development of modern biological science, and they mix the two together. This is not correct. We can only say that sociobiology and modern biological science are "related." At the beginning of the 1950's, natural sciences such as molecular biology and biological behavioral sciences developed quite quickly. The

American geneticist Watson and the English biologist Crick discovered, at Cambridge University, the double-helix structure of genetic material, which laid a base for the development of modern biological engineering technologies. This can be said to be another great revolution following Darwin's theory of evolution. In the 1960's, Lorenz and Tinbergen carried out systematic research into animal behavior and won the Nobel Prize. Also, the English behavioral scientist William Hamilton provided theoretical explanations for animal behavior, put forward the idea of group selection, and thereby developed the unit of natural selection from individuals to groups. We should give full affirmation to the biological results in these two periods. As to the connection between so-called sociobiology and modern biological science, it came about in the 1970's when Trivers and Wilson used much of the terminology of the previous period's molecular biology and animal behavior sciences and put forward the idea of gene selection. They held that the individual is transitory and the group is transitory. Only genes are eternal. Genes are not only the basic unit of inheritance but also the basic unit of natural selection. Genes not only determine biological properties, but also determine biological behavior. Just as Dawkins pointed out: "The basic unit of selection, and thus the basic unit of self-interest, is not a species and is not a group. Strictly speaking it is not even the individual, but genes, the unit of inheritance." In this period, Wilson synthesized the research results and called this science "sociobiology." In Wilson's view, we should have a broad explanation of the word "society." That is, "a group of individuals of the same species which are organized in a coordinated way" can be referred to as a society. In this way, "society" is not restricted to mankind and can be used indiscriminately for all biological groups. On this basis, Wilson not only used Western sociological ideas to "personify" the animals he researched in the natural world, but also on the fabricated basis of indiscriminately applying various areas of modern biological science in studying man's society, he "predicted" that sociobiology would come to dominate all social sciences.

After the emergence of sociobiology, it attracted wide attention from academic circles and also gave rise to intense arguments. Thus its reception was rather mixed. The American sociologist Daniel Baer saw it as the prime achievement of the four major social science achievements of the 1970's throughout the world. Some scholars believed it to be "a revolution in biology, the greatest development in biology since Darwin and Mendel." Conversely, scholars who opposed sociobiology called it "a theoretical basis for racism," "a theory of male chauvinism," and held that it was "genetic capitalism" and "a revival of Social Darwinism." As to whether sociobiology has made contributions to modern biology, Western scholarly circles have not reached any consensus. It should be said that, as man evolved from animals, of course the study of the characteristics of various types of animals is of assistance in understanding man's natural attributes. The investigation of the behavior of animal groups is also of help in understanding the occurrence and process of development of the social behavior of man, especially of primitive man. It cannot be said that sociobiologists are of no benefit in the study of these areas. However, in their research, sociobiologists ignore the essential differences between man and animals and thus it is difficult for them to avoid coming to mistaken conclusions. This is especially so in

respect of their idea of genetic determinism, whereby they try to seek a theoretical basis for "selfish human nature." Thereby they attempt to obtain biological "proof" of this idea of "selfish human nature," which is a degenerate idea of the exploiting classes, to dress their theory in a cloak of science. In the last few years, this ideology has also had a certain amount of influence in our nation. Thus, we need to make an appraisal of it.

## II

Sociobiologists firmly believe that man's nature is determined by genes. In the view of Wilson and others: "If one really wants to understand man's nature, man's life and all the environmental conditions, laws, justice, morality and so on, on which these depend, then we must have a full understanding of genes--the material base of inheritance." It is as if an understanding of genes is the key to understanding man's nature. However, we only need to use Marxist scientific methods in making a thorough analysis of this to discover that such an idea is wrong.

Genes are one of the important factors influencing biological characters and behavior. After man came into being, biological factors continued to play a certain role. At all times, man is in a flesh-and-blood relationship with the natural world. Not only does he rely on the link between his body and the natural world, but, through the links between the thoughts in his brain and the natural world, he relies on the linkage between genetic materials and his own animal ancestors. Using genes and other biological characteristics to study man's nature can be of some assistance. For example, research has shown that the level of intelligence has a certain relationship with inherited characteristics. But sociobiologists negate man's social nature, overstress the biological role and take genes as the deciding factor in man's nature. This cannot but give rise to false conclusions. If genes determine man's nature, then there is no way to explain the imbalance between genetic changes and changes in man's nature. Biological research has shown that the rate of genetic mutation is very small and thus the rate of genetic changes is very slow, while the development of man's nature is much faster. If we compare primitive intelligent man with modern man, there has not been much change in the genes. However, over the last several hundred thousand years, man's society has changed from making stone tools to automated production, from polygamy to monogamy, from barbarism to civilization and man's culture has undergone great changes. These changes cannot be explained by changes in genes.

Genetic determinism likewise cannot explain changes in people's natures in the course of their lives. Men develop from fertilized ova, at which time their genes are fixed. During the course of a life, the genes will not change and, according to the theory of genetic determinism, man's nature likewise will not change. However, in fact, people's natures constantly change in the wake of their growth and aging. Man's nature as a child is very different to man's nature as an old person. A particular person in different stages of development has different psychological characteristics and features. Also, there are other rapid changes in man's nature. Prodigal sons can come home and good people can turn evil. If it is genes which decide man's nature, such things would not happen.

Genetic determinism has even less capacity to explain the acquired attributes of man's nature. If man's nature is determined by genes, then people's good or bad nature would be congenital and education and environment would play no role. But there is no such thing as congenitally determined nature. Man's nature is gradually formed through the social environment. If men are divorced from man's environment, they will become idiots or have an animal nature. In May 1972, people in India discovered a wolf-child. The wolf-child did not want to play with children and liked to be with the dogs. He could rip apart and gulp down a small chicken, and liked to eat raw meat. He could not talk and could only growl. Although he had human genes, he did not have a human nature. Throughout man's history, many such feral children who have grown up away from people have been discovered. They have all been like the case noted above.

In respect of these weak points, Wilson made some alterations to his theory. He put forward the theory of double-nature genes, which holds that social behavior of mankind is to a large degree controlled by the double-nature genes, and the double-nature genes to a certain degree change their roles in response to their environment. However, since genes determine everything, are double-nature genes not then genes? They should also be able to determine everything, so how is it they can change their functions under the influence of the environment? Wilson also made some alterations in respect of the contradiction between the stability of genes and the changing aspects of man's nature. Wilson used the economics term "multiplier effect" to explain the great effects which can result from small changes in genes within a short period. However, in respect of how small changes in genes during a person's lifetime can have such a great effect on people's nature, Wilson only provides subjective ideas, no scientific basis. The error of genetic determinism lies in that it puts the biological nature above all and completely negates the social nature.

Man is the highest product of the evolution of life on earth, is intimately related with the biological world and retains various characteristics of his animal ancestors, such as the patterns of inheritance variation and the succession of the old by the new. As Engels said: Our bodies together with our flesh and blood are all parts of the natural world. Thus, men cannot avoid retaining their natural attributes, while they also have biological natures. However, the biological nature is not man's essential nature. Man's essential nature is his social nature, and his natural attributes are changed by the continual changes in his social attributes. Even man's natural life-span has been extended through social development. Thus, man's social attributes play a leading and controlling role in man's nature. Also, man's natural attributes are determined by his social attributes. While man's various biological factors have a certain influence on his behavior, these are manifested under the influence of the various social factors. Only thus is man's nature different from that of animals. "Man's nature is not an intrinsic abstraction of individuals. In actuality, it is the sum total of all social relationships." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 18) This is a truth proved by all of human history.

The inheritance of genetic materials is not the deciding factor in influencing man's nature. Ma-er-gen [2302 1422 2704] pointed out that mankind has two types of hereditary processes. One type is the inheritance through genetic materials. These provide the biological conditions for mankind's development. The other type is inheritance of the culture and knowledge created by human society and inherited through imitation, language and writing. Man's culture and knowledge, as mankind's cognitive world and crystallization of his transformation of the world, breeds generation after generation of people, have a great effect on man's behavior and provide the social conditions for mankind's development. Following social development, societies based on culture and knowledge played an ever-increasing role. Man's nature continually changed in the wake of changes in the relations of production in the society and in the various social relationships which had these as their base, and following the increasing role of man's knowledge and culture.

### III

The reason sociobiologists put forward the idea of genetic determinism is to prove their theory of "selfish human nature." Dawkins in his book "The Selfish Gene" said: "An outstanding characteristic of genes is their natural selfishness. The selfish nature of genes often leads to selfishness in an individual's behavior." Wilson declared: "Genes are selfish. They are the basic unit of selfish behavior and are also the reason for the selfish behavior which occurs at every level of life's activities. In the theory of sociobiology, selfishness is one of the basic natures of life." (See "Sociobiology: The New Synthesis," p 40) He also says that "giving" is a type of self-benefiting behavior: "Now I will give you something, later you will give me something." "Helping" is also self-benefiting behavior: "At this time you help me and, when you require, I will be your friend." Some sociobiologists say this in a more thoroughgoing way. "All of man's behavior, even if it is saving a stranger from drowning or giving a present of 1 million to a beggar, are in the end all actions of self-interest." To sum up their views: All actions of all people are, in the end, selfish.

Is man's nature really selfish? No, it is not. For quite a number of years after the birth of human society, mankind lived a primitive communist life with common labor and egalitarianism distribution. There was no private property and no concept of private ownership. The graves of primitive society show that clan members had equal positions and, apart from tools for personal use, all property was commonly owned. Language research has shown that mankind had the linguistic term "we" very early on, while the term "I" only became separate much later. Even primitive mythology reflected this point. Prometheus gave his life to steal fire, the female monarch thought nothing of hardship in repairing heaven, Shen Nong risked dangers in testing the hundred herbs. Great Yu also regulated the rivers and watercourses so that they would flow past the door rather than inside. All of these show that man's nature in primitive society was not selfish. In fact as there was no private property in primitive society, there was no basis on which "selfishness" could occur. Quite the reverse, primitive society's low level of production required that men rely on the collective as only thus could they ward off wild beasts and survive hunger and cold. Thus, human behavior in primitive society had no basis for selfish actions.

As to classed society, not all actions of all classes were selfish. There were both unselfish classes and unselfish behavior. The proletariat owned nothing. Their low class position and class interests determined that only by liberating the whole of mankind could they be liberated themselves. Thus, they were destined to be a selfless and unselfish class. In Chinese history, there had been those who had risked their lives for right, some pleaded for the people, some worried before everyone else worried and enjoyed themselves only after everyone else enjoyed themselves. Their actions were not selfish. Lu Xun referred to them as China's backbone. In foreign countries, many people have also given themselves for their country, done things in the interests of the people and devoted themselves to truth. The ideas of sociobiologists which take selfishness as man's basic nature accords with neither the actuality of the world's people nor the facts of the development of human history.

In a society with private ownership, there clearly exist selfish concepts and selfish behavior. But these are the products of historical development. With the disintegration of primitive society, private property appeared in human society. This gave rise to a struggle for private property between social groups and between individuals, producing conflicts of interests. As this was reflected in the societies in man's mind and concepts, people gradually became selfish. As the system of private ownership developed, this selfishness was continually strengthened. However, following the great enriching of social products and following the gradual elimination of the distinctions between town and country, industry and agriculture and physical and mental labor, mankind will again enter a society in which there is selflessness and no selfishness.

Saying selfishness is mankind's basic characteristic is the same as saying one is completely ignorant of history and saying that all man's noble actions are worthless. By inference, Washington proceeded from selfish motives in leading the American War of Independence and Lincoln proceeded from selfish motives in launching the slave emancipation movement. If this is the case, what heroes are there in history? Also, if one takes all man's actions as selfish, it is not possible to explain the various noble actions in modern society. Giving oneself to save others and assisting others before oneself are, in the eyes of the sociobiologists, other forms of selfishness. It is in this that their great ideological confusion arises. A New England man who rescued another person from drowning and thereby won a Carnegie Prize, wrote a letter to Wilson asking him whether his saving of the person was determined by genes. Wilson could only vaguely reply: "Although the impulse and emotions which arose after he made a concealed decision in accordance with reason had been determined long ago, this cannot play down the rationality of the value of actions of helping others." As, in Wilson's view, helping others is nothing but "another tactic of selfish genes," what logic is there in this?

Saying that selfishness is man's basic nature, seeing selfishness as a common mentality of mankind and seeing all man's behavior as selfish is without doubt a fabricated base for a selfish philosophy of everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost. As man's basic nature is selfish, then the

social phenomena of each person trying to outwit others and seeking things by force and trickery are quite rational things. As selfishness is the common characteristic of all mankind, there are no moral or spiritual crises in capitalist society. If they did exist, sociobiologists would believe that they are normal phenomena which accord with man's basic nature. It can be seen that these ideas of sociobiologists are reflections of spiritual crises in capitalist society and are also an attempted defense of this crisis.

#### IV

Sociobiologists believe that sociobiology has discovered man's basic nature and has found the source of man's nature. Thus, they try to establish a huge system whereby sociobiological concepts are used to explain all social phenomena. Within this great system "sociobiology and other social sciences as well as all the humanities will be the newest branches of biology." Trivers predicted: "Politics, law, economics, psychology, the study of mental illness and anthropology will, sooner or later, become branches of sociobiology." With lofty aspirations, the sociobiologists try to use sociobiology to "lay down a new base for the social sciences," and to use sociobiology "as a new avenue by which to understand the basic nature of man." They have indeed started to march toward the various fields of the social sciences. Some scholars use sociobiological concepts to study politics and believe that man's biological nature is completely capable of giving rise to man's political behavior, and that people's relationships in terms of their social strata have their origins in biological characteristics. Some other scholars believe that political authority has its origin in people's biological instincts. In brief, they see political behavior as an extension of biological behavior. Sociobiology has also seeped into sociology. The anthropologist Napoleon Chagnon discovered that the Yanomamö tribe on the border of Venezuela and Brazil still have the customs of drowning female babies and seizing wives from other tribes. The sociobiologists Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox believe that this is a type of "behavior guided by a biological order." In addition, the sociobiologists see war as a dissemination process for inherited genes. Music and dance are also seen as having their origins in biological instinct, and so on.

Clearly, human society has come about through the development of biological groups. Because man's social behavior could not be fixed like a fossil early on, the exploration of animal group behavior has a definite reference value in studying man's social behavior and its development processes. However, sociobiology's arbitrary expansion of the applicable limits of this science is greatly erroneous.

Sociobiologists completely ignore the differences between human society and animal groups. Animal groups and human society have a certain relationship in terms of historical origins. However, the two are completely different in terms of their nature. Although, in a generic sense, it is possible to use the formulation "animal society," in a strictly scientific sense only man can have a social nature. It is something which animals do not have. This is one of the basic indications of the difference between man and the

animals. Engels pointed out: "Following the appearance of completely formed man, there was produced a new factor--society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 512) Marx, in exploring the scientific implication of "society" also clearly pointed out: "In brief, social relationships between people as they engage in production, that is, the social relations of production, change and develop in the wake of changes and developments in the material means of production and in the productive forces. The relations of production, in their totality form the so-called social relationships. They form what is called society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 363) That is to say, the essential significance of society is as the summation of production relationships. Animals do not have such relationships. Animals depend on nature for the maintenance of their existence. They can only passively accord with the natural world. But in human society it is possible to make use of tools to produce the material means of subsistence. Man not only can accord with nature, but can also understand nature and transform nature. The relationship between animals at most is a biological relationship. But the relationships between men in society are social relationships based on the different level and stages of the development of the productive forces and the relations of production. It is precisely this contradictory movement in the social base which determines the changes, replacement and transformation of social systems. This also determines the nature and contents of the forms of social consciousness. Basically the weak point of sociobiology is that it makes no distinction between the forms of social movement and forms of biological movement, which have different bases, and thereby follows the same old disastrous road as Social Darwinism.

Sociobiology does not concern itself with the appropriate limits of biology and arbitrarily expands views which are truthful in the biological sphere into the field of human society, thereby causing truth to become fallacy. Dialectical materialism tells us that every truth is a specific truth and each has its own appropriate limits. When these limits are exceeded, "one only needs to take a small step, even though it seems to be a small step in the same direction, for truth to change to error." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 257) The natures of human society and animal groups are different and the laws of their movement and development are different. Animal groups accord with the laws of the theory of evolution and the laws of biology, while human society accords with the laws of social development. In the same way as the laws of human social categories and development are not appropriate for animal groups, the biological laws with which the animal groups accord cannot be indiscriminately applied to human society. Engels, in criticizing Spencer's theory of social organisms, pointed out that the basic differences between humans and animals is that animals can at best gather food, while people are able to engage in production. If only for this single and basic difference, we cannot indiscriminately apply the laws of the animal world to human society. This pertinent and precise criticism by Engels is very applicable to some of the sociobiologists.

When sociobiologists apply the laws which are relevant in biology to mankind, the methods used are comparison and analogy. These two methods, especially analogy, have a certain epistemological value, and in understanding similar

living things, have a certain reference value. However, if we are to understand the basic nature of a particular living thing and its differences with other living things, we cannot reach our goal by just using these methods. Human society and animal groups have basic differences, and there are essential differences in the laws which apply to them. How can we easily affirm conclusions obtained through the use of analogy? Much less can we accept the conclusions, given that Wilson, in using comparison and analogies, applies a great amount of subjective arbitrariness: On the one hand, he uses a great amount of observed animal behavior to explain human society, and on the other hand he compares the phenomena of human society with those in animal society. For example, he uses terms such as slave system and social level to explain animal groups, with the aim of having people believe that animal groups and human society are the same. An important reason sociobiologists lose their footing is that they are not strict in their methods.

In brief, from the appraisal above we can see that sociobiology has appeared in a situation where the capitalist spiritual and moral crises are daily becoming more severe. It tries to demonstrate that the degeneration of man's nature in capitalist society is produced not by social decadence, but rather is determined by man's genes. In this way, it "ingeniously" absolves the various social problems in capitalist society. Sociobiology is deeply impressed with the brand of capitalist spiritual and moral crisis, and panders to the mental needs of the rulers of Western society. It can be said that basically this is a theory which propagates "selfish human nature." In how we look at this theory, we cannot blindly esteem it and much less can we propagate it as a theoretical basis for "selfish human nature."

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STUDY BASIC MARXIST THEORY, IMPROVE THE 'FOUR QUALITIES' IN WORK

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[Article by Lu Zhichao [4151 0037 6398]]

[Text] The National Conference of Party Delegates and the 4th and 5th Plenary Sessions of the 12th CPC Central Committee before and after it have clarified for us the orientation of our progress and our current tasks. In order to smoothly fulfill these tasks, in his speech to the National Conference of Party Delegates, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth a new requirement, namely, all cadres, old or new, must study basic Marxist theory. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "I hope that the CPC Central Committee will make truly feasible decision to enable all the cadres of the party at various levels, especially leading cadres, to spare some time for their study amid their busy work in order to become familiar with basic Marxist theory and thus improve their sense of principle, systematicness, foresight, and creativity." To be more concrete, the practical significance in becoming familiar with basic Marxist theory is most importantly shown in these "four qualities" pointed out by Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

### I. On Strengthening the Sense of Principle in Our Work

A sense of principle means that in observing and handling problems, we should start from the essence of things and the laws that govern the development of things and we should have clear and scientific criteria. The sense of principle in our work cannot be separated from our understanding of Marxist theory.

Generally speaking, things in the realm of theory are related to the essence of matters and to general laws. They are therefore relatively stable. Basic Marxist theory is not only the outcome of analyzing capitalist society of over 100 years ago and summing up the experience gained in the struggle of the working class then, but is also scientific truth that has been learned through critically inheriting the rich ideological and cultural legacy that the human race has accumulated for thousands of years and through summing up the fundamental laws governing the development of nature and society, and it is a perfect scientific system. Marxist theory does not stagnate, but develops as times develop. As practice and science develop, it is even more necessary to change some aspects of the form of Marxist theory in order to

make it more correct and richer in content. However, the basic principles of Marxism are relatively stable and universally applicable. Of course, these universal basic principles should be flexibly applied in the light of actual conditions. A sense of principle is not in conflict with, but interacts with flexibility. When we are doing various aspects of our work, we are faced with a complicated, very different, and always changing actual situation; therefore, we must proceed from the concrete situation and adopt flexible and diversified principles and policies. However, we must rely on basic Marxist theory in grasping the essence of things amid the complicated situation, in understanding the universal laws that govern very different things, and in making clear the orientation of the development of things that are quickly changing.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has made great efforts to bring order out of chaos. From a theoretical point of view, this is aimed at correcting the dogmatism, pragmatism, idealism, and metaphysics in our "Great Cultural Revolution" and other "leftist" mistakes before it which ran counter to Marxism and at returning to the correct stand, viewpoint, and methods of Marxism and thus restoring and establishing a series of Marxist theoretical and political principles. As these principles reflect the essence of things and the laws governing things, as they manifest the basic nature and fundamental orientation of our undertakings, and as they conform to China's reality and Chinese people's demands they are stable and unshakable. For example, we have reestablished the ideological line of seeking truth from facts; we have corrected the "leftist" mistake of "regarding class struggle as the key link," realized the switching of the focus of the whole party's work, and concentrated our strength on developing our social productive forces; we have put forth and adhered to the four basic principles and regard them as vital for our country's survival and as the basis for our formulating our domestic and foreign policies; we have persisted in carrying out reform in our economic structure and science and education and implemented a series of basic principles to enliven our economy at home and open up to the outside world in order to meet the demand resulting from the development of our social productive forces; in our economic structural reform, we have developed diverse economic forms and management methods and encouraged some of our people to become rich earlier than others, while at the same time, we have adhered to the principles of giving the publicly owned sector a dominant position and becoming rich together in order to make our reform develop smoothly along a socialist orientation; while regarding the realization of the four modernizations and our economic construction as the key tasks and goals of our struggle, we have put forth the tasks of developing a high degree of socialist democracy and building a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization; and we have reiterated our party's communist ideals and faith and purpose of serving the people and also the various party spirit principles concerning our party building and party style. Under these major principles, there are also a series of relatively more concrete principles concerning the various aspects of our economy, politics, cultural development, and party building. All these principles are based on basic Marxist theory and are the outcome of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the practice of our country's construction. In this process, we did not

simply copy Marxist conclusions, but proceeded from China's reality, flexibly applied the basic principles and methods of Marxism, and thus achieved new development in theory. Some specific theories of Marxism, such as the viewpoint that there is no commodity economy in socialism, have been proved unsuited to the reality of our construction; therefore, our party has bravely made a breakthrough in theory and put forth the view of planned commodity economy on the basis of socialist public ownership. In the past, we overlooked some Marxist viewpoints, such as the viewpoint that the fundamental task of socialism is to develop the productive forces. Our party has gained a new understanding of this principle from its historical experience and greatly developed this principle and integrated it with the practice in China. Concerning many problems regarding the nature of the laws that govern our socialist construction, we are carrying out research and summing up new theories on them in the light of our practical experience. However, whatever the changes in these concrete theoretical viewpoints, facts have proved that the basic theory, basic principles, and methods of Marxism remain entirely applicable today. The problem is that we should correctly master them, relevantly apply them in studying and solving practical problems today, and develop them in our practice. Lenin said that a policy of principle was the only correct policy. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has formulated a series of basic policies. All these policies are correct policies of principle and have stability and continuity, because they have been profoundly based on integrating the fundamental principles of Marxism with China's practice. Therefore, we must conscientiously study and thus become familiar with basic Marxist theory. Only by so doing can we deeply understand them: not only their content, but also the reasons for them. Only by so doing can we improve our sense of principle in our work and in the process of actually implementing and publicizing these policies and can we refrain from wavering because of a temporary change in something specific.

Facts in our real life have proved that some of our comrades fail to have a strong sense of principle. In their ideological understanding and work, sometimes they commit various deviations and mistakes, which are all related to their inadequate study of basic Marxist theory and their inadequate understanding of the principle nature of our party's policies. For example, for a time, our newspapers carried inappropriate propaganda about high consumption and neglected the propaganda about practicing thrift in building up our country. This was because we failed to adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from China's national conditions. In the process of opening up and enlivening, some comrades fail to have a clear understanding concerning, or sufficiently strongly resist, the erroneous idea of "pursuing money in doing everything," and even follow this unhealthy trend. This is because they fail to correctly understand the planned commodity economy based on socialist public ownership and forget the party's communist ideal and purpose of serving the people. Others fail to be on their guard against the bourgeois ideological tide of liberalization and the bourgeois views on democracy and freedom and even sympathize with and support these views. This is because they overlook the importance of adhering to the four basic principles. Still others doubt the reform itself when they see the emergence of some negative phenomena in the process of reform. This has

something to do with their lack of understanding of the fundamental task of developing our productive forces and the correctness and necessity of our reform. There are often drastic prevailing trends in our society. When one of these trends prevails, always there are some people who waver in their actions and thinking. The masses of people often criticize our propaganda, saying that it keeps changing from one extreme to another. Apart from other reasons, I am afraid that one of the important reasons for the emergence of these phenomena is our inadequate mastery of Marxist theory and our lack of consistency with principle in doing our concrete work and carrying out propaganda. From this we can see that in order to heighten our sense of principle in work and in order to prevent wavering in implementing and publicizing the party's policies, we must conscientiously study and become familiar with basic Marxist theory. We can say that for our cadres, in particular leading cadres, a sense of principle is an important indication of their Marxist theoretical level, while studying basic Marxist theory is a fundamental way to heighten our sense of principle in work. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed the importance of theoretical study, he gave priority to that. This is worth our conscientious consideration.

## II. On Heightening the Systematicness in Our Work

Basic Marxist theory is a reflection of the universal laws of things. It enables us to have a general view of the all-round situation of things and to understand the relations between things. Theoretical thinking is important because it can upgrade unorganized factual experience and turn it into systematic understanding and can observe things with interconnected and systematic viewpoints. When Engels criticized empiricism, he said: "However much one looks down on theoretical thinking, without theoretical thinking, one will find that one cannot even link any two natural facts of nature, or cannot even understand the relationship between the two." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 482) Now, quite a lot of comrades are paying great attention to studying and applying systems science. From the point of view of the research in our science and technology and in certain aspects of our social sciences and our economic, social administrative, and managerial work, this is indeed necessary. However, at the same time, we should also see that systems science as a concrete method of scientific management cannot be regarded as being as important as Marxism, which is a world outlook and a methodology. Marxist theory not only studies and expounds on the laws governing the development of, and the internal relationships in, the whole of society, including its economic, political, ideological and cultural experiences, it also discloses the internal relationships and the laws of the entire world, including the laws governing the development of nature, society, and people's thinking. We must conscientiously study, become familiar with, and master basic Marxist principles and methods. Only by so doing can we heighten the systematicness in our various work.

Our economic structural reform, which is given first priority among all other work, is a very arduous and complicated social systems engineering project. In doing any economic work, it is necessary to satisfactorily handle the relation between reform and construction. In carrying out the reform itself, it is even more necessary to satisfactorily handle the relations between

various sectors, such as those between rural and urban reform, between planning and the market, between the state, the collective, and the individual in distributing benefits, between the reform in various economic departments, and those concerning the cooperation and coordination between various reform measures. We should regard our reform as a system and grasp it from the plane of the whole situation. In carrying out the reform in various aspects of work and in various sectors, and in adopting various concrete reform measures, we must consider and satisfactorily handle various relationships. In order to satisfactorily do that, we are required to become genuinely able, through our study, to apply the Marxist viewpoint of seeking truth from facts, the methods of dialectical materialism, and the relevant economic theories of Marxism. Both the decision on reform of the economic system by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and the CPC Central Committee's proposal on the Seventh 5-Year Plan apply Marxist theory to analyzing the reality of our country's economic system and economic construction and thus formulate the various policies and measures on the reform. If we lack knowledge or understanding regarding Marxist theory, it will not be easy for us to understand and implement the decision and the proposal. In order to ensure that the reform is smoothly carried out in a planned and systematic manner, we are urgently required to intensify our study of Marxist theory.

Furthermore, from the point of view of our socialist construction as a whole, we are required even more to heighten the systematicness in our various kinds of work. The party's key task during the new period is to carry out the construction to modernize our economy and to develop our productive forces. In coordination with this task and in order to serve the realization of this key task, we should at the same time carry out construction of our socialist spiritual civilization and socialist democracy. Therefore, in doing all our work, we should take into consideration the relations and coordination between the three aspects of construction, centered on the key task of economic construction. Studying and mastering basic Marxist theory can help us do this better. Take the relation between material and spiritual civilizations for example. While carrying out the construction of our material civilization, our party has also put forth the task of intensifying the construction of our socialist spiritual civilization. There are not only profound theoretical grounds for this, but also theoretical creation in doing so. If we cannot understand this in an all-round manner from the plane of Marxist theory, it will be very difficult for us to heighten the systematicness in our work. If our propaganda, cultural, political, and ideological work fails to be closely centered around the key tasks of modernization and economic structural reform, we will not be able to do the work well, nor will we be able to satisfactorily promote our entire construction cause. Similarly, when we are making efforts to carry out the construction of our material civilization, neglecting the construction of our spiritual civilization will also produce serious consequences.

Of course, heightening systematicness is regarded as a basic principle and method and should not be understood mechanically. The development of things is always complicated and uneven. Often, we have to make a breakthrough first in a specific link. Therefore, the method of grasping the principal

contradiction and the key link, in order to take along the entire situation, is not in conflict with the requirement of systematicness. On the contrary, it is a necessary condition for satisfying this requirement.

### III. On Improving Our Foresight in Work

In doing any work, we hope that we will be able to achieve the expected results and often suffer from our lack of foresight, which makes us feel unsure about the results of some of our measures. There are many factors that affect our efforts to improve our foresight in our work, including the level of people's knowledge, people's practical experience, their degree of understanding of the situation, and their Marxist theoretical level, the last being the key one among all these factors. For basic Marxist theory is a scientific method for correctly disclosing the laws governing things and developmental trends. It can enable us to observe problems dialectically in an all-round manner, to see things at the initial stage, to see through complicated phenomena and grasp the essence concerning the development of things, and thus to judge the future development of things.

A review of the history of the Chinese revolution reveals that our party, Comrade Mao Zedong in particular, had amazing foresight amid the stormy and drastic changing events. All the various kinds of scientific foresight, such as the forecasting of the development of the situation in China after the failure of the great revolution, the analysis of the process of protracted war during the war of resistance against Japan, and the calculations concerning the victory of the Chinese revolution during the war of liberation, were the result of applying and developing Marxist theory in studying and solving the practical problems in the Chinese revolution. This shows the tremendous role and power of Marxist theory. Now, under the new historical conditions, we are faced with even more magnificent and arduous tasks and another widespread and deep revolutionary reform. In every step of the reform, ranging from the general plans to concrete arrangements, we are required to have as accurate foresight as possible concerning the progress and results of development, the scale and pace of construction, and the steps and measures of the reform. All these are things that our predecessors never attempted. This is a contradiction. In order to solve this contradiction, it is necessary to intensify our study of professional knowledge, to make efforts to understand the experience and lessons gained by foreign countries (including both socialist and capitalist countries), to make conscientious investigation and study, to carry out actual experiments, and so on. However, the guidance of Marxism is indispensable in all these efforts. Viewed as a whole, the theories and policies that the CPC Central Committee has put forth on the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the fighting goal of modernization, and the program of economic structural reform that it has formulated, have displayed its scientific Marxist foresight. However, concerning the concrete methods and steps of the construction and reform, as there has to be a process of exploration and experiment, we should look around after taking a step forward. But looking around after taking a step forward does not mean that foresight is not necessary. In deciding each aspect of our work and each step or measure, we are still required to have as good foresight as possible.

But it is not easy to make this kind of foresight very accurate; therefore, it is necessary to promptly correct these aspects of work and steps and measures in the light of the development of the actual situation and the experience and lessons that we have gained in our practice. Therefore, while we are making progress in the manner of looking around after taking a step forward and while carrying out exploration and experiments, it is even more necessary to study hard Marxist theory.

As science develops, we are not provided with many more means and methods of forecasting than before, including the advanced technologies of statistics, calculation, and simulation, and many theories and methods that we have introduced from abroad and to which we can refer. This has improved our capability in accurately understanding the situation and reasoning about the development of things. Undoubtedly, we should study hard these technologies, theories, and methods. But all these cannot replace Marxist theory. On the contrary, only under the guidance of basic Marxist theory can we correctly apply these practical means and methods of forecasting to improve the foresight in our work. In particular, in regard to the entire process of our social activities and the major issues in our economic, political, social, and cultural spheres, without the guidance of basic Marxist theory it is impossible for us to make correct judgments. In order to improve the foresight in our work, we should combine our efforts to study and become familiar with Marxist theory with mastering these concrete methods of forecasting, and should not set them against each other.

#### IV. On Improving Creativeness in Our Work

- The role of Marxist theory, in the final analysis, lies in guiding us in reforming all the existing things that are irrational and not suited to the development of our productive forces and people's demands and in creating a new world and life. An important characteristic of Marxism that distinguishes it from other old theories is that Marxism is practical, critical and creative. When Marx began to establish his new world outlook system, he declared: "Philosophers merely adopt different methods to explain the world, but the problem is to transform the world." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 19) Marxist theory itself has the spirit of continuous creation and is incompatible with the various ideas and habits that follow the beaten path, stick to conventions, and fear reform. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Marxism-Leninism has in no way exhausted truth but ceaselessly opens up roads to the knowledge of truth in the course of practice." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 272) A review of the history and reality of modern China will enable us to see that it was precisely the great creative impact yielded by integrating Marxist theory with the practice in China that opened up the way for China's new democratic revolution and enabled us to establish a new China; that enabled us to achieve the great victory in our socialist transformation and construction after the founding of the PRC; and that has enabled us to create a new situation of socialist modernization under the new historical conditions since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We can say that none of the new great and profound creative achievements has not been the outcome of the guidance of Marxist theory. In order to carry out reform

in various sectors and vigorously develop the productive forces of our society today, it is even more necessary for us to apply Marxist theory to improving the creativeness in our work and to continuing to blaze new trails.

We should not confuse Marxist theory with certain dogmatist and outdated ideas in our study, research, and propaganda. Because of many years of "leftist" mistakes and the practice of closing our country to international intercourse, we have failed to very satisfactorily carry out research into the various new developments at home and abroad. In people's understanding of Marxism, there are still quite a lot of outdated dogmatist ideas that are not suited to our times and tasks. The long-standing old economic system that fettered the development of our productive forces has correspondingly given rise to many fixed concepts that fetter people's minds. All these are unsuited to the creative undertakings of our modernization and reform. Therefore, as our construction and reform develop, analyzing, criticizing, and overcoming these old ideas and concepts continues to be an arduous long-term task. However, all outdated dogmatist ideas and thoughts run first of all against Marxism and can by no means be confused with Marxist theory. Therefore, only by conscientiously studying basic Marxist theory and applying its basic principles and methods in carrying out analysis can we distinguish between the theses, thoughts, and views which are correct and which should be adhered to, developed, and continued and those which are dogmatist, which run against Marxism, and which are divorced from reality. Only by so doing can we overcome the latter theses, thoughts, and views.

Even less should we set the study of Marxist theory against creativeness in our work. In our work, it is necessary to have creativeness, to bravely practice blazing new trails, to study all the useful new foreign thoughts and things, and so on. However, only the practice of blazing new trails that is carried out under the guidance of basic Marxist theory in the manner of integrating Marxism with the practice in China and through carrying out careful research and following the objective laws governing things can be genuine scientific practice of blazing new trails. If we do not master basic Marxist theory, if we fail to have a scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts or the scientific dialectical materialist methods, if we overlook the basic Marxist principles that disclose the fundamental laws governing the development of the history of society, and if we blindly copy or invent new ways at will, it will be impossible for us to really blaze new trails. If we do that, we will perhaps wind up restoring old things rather than blazing new trails. Have not some people regarded "briefcase companies" that sell and buy short and the capitalist decadent practice of giving gifts of cash as new things and new practices in their administration and management? In fact, such incidents are also common in the spheres of our ideology, theory, and concepts. This shows that we must conscientiously study and become familiar with Marxist theory. Only this can help us become clear about what is the genuine practice of blazing new trails and thus improve the creativeness in our work.

To sum up, studying Marxism in order to improve the sense of principle, systematicness, foresight, and creativeness in our work is mainly aimed at

solving the following two closely related problems. The first is to improve our work and leadership methods and heighten our ideological and political level and the level of our understanding of policies in our work; and the second is to adhere to the correct orientation in our thought and work. All our work is aimed at building socialism with Chinese characteristics and attaining our final goal of realizing communism in the future. Only Marxist theory can ensure that we adhere to the orientation of socialism today and will realize communism in the future. Therefore, when Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed the importance of studying Marxist theory, he not only pointed out its significance in solving current basic problems in various fields, but also pointed out that only by so doing could we prevent some comrades from going astray in the increasingly complicated struggle.

Improving our sense of principle, systematicness, foresight, and creativeness in work through studying Marxism actually means that we are required to apply Marxism to serving the socialist modernization of our country. It also means that we should "shoot the arrow at the target" and combine theory with practice. First, we should study theory and, particularly in the light of our actual needs, we should study the relevant works of Marx, Lenin, and Comrade Mao Zedong and the important documents of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We should be familiar with the basic principles of Marxism and the new theoretical development of our party. Without this, what are we to combine with our practice? When Comrade Deng Xiaoping talked about substituting new cadres for elderly ones, he put forth the task of studying Marxism as a new requirement. This was precisely aimed at solving the problem that our cadres, particularly our new cadres, are not familiar with the basic principles of Marxism. Several years ago, he said: "Some people who make comments often see the phenomena only, because they have no basic knowledge of theory or basic experience in practice." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 337) Therefore, he put forward the view that we had to study theory and philosophy and read books conscientiously. This task seems to have become more important today. Our theory should be geared to and combined with reality. We should not mechanically memorize some words and phrases of Marxism, but should regard Marxist theory as a weapon, regard studying and solving the practical problems in our socialist modernization as the core, and link our reading and study with our research work and theoretical discussion. Therefore, we should put an end to the dogmatist and formalistic method of study that is still adopted in some localities. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has achieved quite a lot of theoretical creation and development in applying the basic principles of Marxism, summing up our historical experiences, and solving the practical problems in our socialist construction. Not only do we regard these achievements as important contents of our theoretical study, but we should also learn from them how to combine theory with practice.

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## JUSTICE IS BOUND TO OVERWHELM EVIL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 86 p 47

[Article by Hou Gu [0186 0942]]

[Text] Among people 30 to 40 years old today, many are likely not to know that when the PRC was first established, certain people doubted our party's ability to sweep away the dregs of the old society. Contrary to these people's estimation, our country, over a short period, was able to completely eradicate this kind of social plague, and, for the sake of the nation and the people, the CPC demonstrated great wisdom and courage, winning people's admiration and respect. The story is a simple one. The dregs of the old society was comprised of rotten influences, supported by a very small handful of diehard elements. The Communist Party righteously represents society, having the backing of millions of people. Once we have made a decision, the people's forces will congregate under the party's banner. Justice is bound to overwhelm evil. No problem is too difficult to solve. Many subsequent events have repeatedly attested to this point.

In recent years, the party's work style and social atmosphere have turned for the better, but not so ideally well. This is principally because many of our regions, departments, and units have not earnestly devoted great efforts to grasping problems in a down-to-earth manner. Moreover, as a result of the play of other subjective factors, certain people have treated party discipline and state laws as trifles, and crimes have been committed simultaneously with the reform. As soon as certain problems were solved, new ones would arise. As time went on, certain comrades considered the problems of the party's work style and social atmosphere as "great old difficulties." Touching on them, they would shake their heads and sigh, more or less helplessly.

If we do not merely look at the phenomena but look at the facts, it should be said that the current improper wind, the illegal and undisciplinary acts, serious economic crimes, and all other crimes are evil and rotten things and if we only command our righteous forces to attack them, striking hard and demolishing all the rubbish, it would not be so difficult after all. Let us look: In autumn 1983 we began to concentrate our forces to deal with serious criminal activities and the thieves, robbers, and criminal elements who had run amok for a time very soon took cover, while many criminals were caught in the legal network and duly punished. Not so long ago, the Beijing railway

station was plagued by the nefarious activities of ticket scalpers. Passengers were afraid of going to the station to buy tickets. But we acted in a truly earnest manner and in a few days' time the situation changed radically. The feat was greatly acclaimed by the incoming and outgoing passengers. They all agreed that now the railway station was truly like a railway station under a socialist regime. Since the evil-making and lawbreaking culprits were the same people and the tactics used were the same kind of tactics, why was it that they had not been successfully dealt with formerly? The problem was that the spiritual stature and the state of the combined strength differed on the two occasions. Given the state of facing lawbreaking but not seeing it, or merely uttering vain cries without moving the hands at all, or failing to make any sound or gesture at all, it would not be possible to deal with even a few flies, not to speak of handling gansters addicted to crimes and to wanton lawbreaking.

We have talked much about our superiorities one after another and all of them sounded rather rational. But we seemed not to have talked enough about the fundamental superiority of the socialist system. This is that since this system represents social righteousness and progress and has the backing of the great majority of the populace, it truly wields invincible strength. Is it not true that in the four basic principles there is clearly one called people's democratic dictatorship?

Is not the solution of the serious problem of the violation of laws and discipline precisely one of the irrefutable functions of people's democratic dictatorship? The extreme discontent with the improper wind of the workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and other citizens of society and their deep hatred of economic crimes and other criminal deeds are precisely wherein lies the enormous strength of the socialist country under our people's democratic dictatorship. Our leadership organs at various levels and leadership cadres need only act in an exemplary manner, earnestly listen to the cries of the populace, and fully display the role of the people's democratic dictatorship and all evil things will be eradicated.

Since the 12th CPC National Congress prescribed the task of seeking the basic improvement of the party style and social atmosphere, 3 full years have passed. At present, the party Central Committee has firmly resolved to put the party style in the right shape and has adopted correct guidelines and made the necessary arrangements. This has greatly stimulated the spirit of the whole party and the whole country. Comrades doing leadership work must review their deeds of the recent years and ask themselves: Have we gone to the front to fight? How many battles have we fought? Did we win or lose? If they can sum up the experiences and lessons from the review, truly respond to the party Central Committee's call, and resolutely, and in a sustained manner, grasp the work to the end, then definitely there will be great hope for the party style and social atmosphere to make a turn for the better.

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THE FASCINATION OF AN IRON-WILLED MARSHAL--ON READING 'THE HEAVIER THE FROST,  
THE DEEPER THE HUE'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 86 p 48

[Article by Fan Yongge [5400 0737 2047]; "The Heavier the Frost, the Deeper  
the Hue" was carried in KUNLUN Issues Nos 2-6, 1985]

[Text] There are a huge number of different magazines and they contain an even greater number of works, but works which truly "guide one to a higher road" and which after reading one feels greatly inspired and attains a higher realm, are rarely encountered. The work "The Heavier the Front, the Deeper the Hue," a piece of biographical literature written by Tie Zhu Wei [6993 4554 0251] as part of a serial "Chen Yi During the 'Cultural Revolution,'" can truly be called such a work.

In various senses, the launching of the "Cultural Revolution" was just like, in Greek mythology, the opening of Pandora's box, which contained all the calamities of man. In those days of wildness and rampaging when the vast majority of the Chinese people, including many veteran revolutionaries, could not control their own fates, Chen Yi, who was still under the "Proletarian Command" after the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee, was to later say this about his situation: "They only wanted me, Chen Yi, to keep silent, and the staying at Zhongnanhai would not be a problem." However, how could "keeping silent" as a price for staying at Zhongnanhai have been the choice of this "commander who hated evil and was swift in rebuking it?"

(Footnote) ("Words From Comrade Zhao Pochu's [6392 2613 0443] Mourning Poem for Chen Yi") "On the question of whether to talk or not to talk, I finally decided to talk!" The work grasps this great decision taken by Chen Yi in his later years and develops the image of a proletarian revolutionary who stands immovable in the current, and thereby causes people to appreciate the special bearing of this iron-willed marshal. When, at a Political Bureau meeting, the followers of Kang Sheng and Jiang Qing attacked Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Chen Yi angrily struck the table and rose to his feet. He gave a face-to-face warning to the "little general" who had been called by Chairman Mao, and indignantly attacked the "rebel faction" for their deceitful flattery of him. Even in the so-called "causing a stir at Huairen Tang" he yelled at Tan Zhenlin who was angrily leaving: "Do not go, we will struggle inside!..."

Liebknecht in talking about Marx said: "He is a thoroughly honest man. He worships nothing apart from truth." Lafargue used two lines from Shakespeare's "Hamlet" to describe Marx: "He is an imposing man, all in all, and I have never met another man like him." Marx' fascination lay in his not fearing losing everything he owned, in his revolutionary principles and the firmness of a true communist. The fascination of Chen Yi, the iron-willed marshal written about in "The Heavier the Frost, the Deeper the Hue," lies also in this.

Perhaps we only need to look at Chen Yi's special love for the red leaves of the western hills to understand how he was able, in the "period of the heaviest frosts" of the revolution to make his final and his most difficult decision. As the autumn wind blew, one by one the yellow leaves smitten by frost suddenly fell from the branches and fluttered down. At this time, when all the leaves were falling, only the maple leaves and the smoke tree leaves used all of their final strength to radiate a fiery red, dressing up autumn and causing onlookers to marvel. This is the reason why throughout history people have admired the red leaves "stopping their carts to enjoy the maple trees' evening" and saying that "the maple leaves excel even peach blossoms." After suffering abuse from Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, Chen Yi came to the western hills and, together with several veteran commanders, enjoyed the red leaves and used the red leaves to speak of Communist Party members' feelings and values: "Even if you threw away the light-reds and the grey-reds, I would not take them." Only in the "frostness periods" do they display their existence. When the heavy frosts come, they hum and ha and look this way and that. "I will have nothing to do with such Communist Party members!" This Communist Party member's sense of value held by Old Commander Chen is not only something for yesterday, but something for today and for tomorrow.

Thus on reading "The Heavier the Frost, the Deeper the Hue" not only do we review the nightmares: How Chen Yi participated in the 9th party congress as a representative of the "right," how he was sent down to the Nankou Vehicle Factory; how he was "evacuated" to Handan, thus missing an opportunity to get medical treatment, which resulted in his untimely death; and not only do we get an understanding of the negation of the "Cultural Revolution" from another angle; but because the work is written from the perspective of Chen Yi's noble self-decision and it concerns the fine style of a true communist, it provides a fresh gauge for all those Communist Party members who have lost their Communist Party values to a greater or lesser degree.

Tolstoy, in talking about historical biographies, said: Every historical fact must be explained in human terms, it must be an historical description which avoids the beaten path. "The Heavier the Frost, the Deeper the Hue" uses feelings to weave historical material about the activities of political figures together and strives to find passion in history, to find poetry in history. Whether it is Premier Zhou angrily warning the rebel clique: "Whoever wants to block Comrade Chen Yi's car on the road...let them do so over my body!"; whether it is Marshal Liu using his hands as his eyes, stroking Chen Yi's corpse as his old wartime friends sent him off; or whether it is Chairman Mao fumbling to put a pair of socks on his dropsy-affected feet and calling:

"Get a car. I want to go to Comrade Chen Yi's memorial meeting!"--all of these are very emotional descriptions and on reading them the readers' eyes are blurred by tears.

Several years ago, Comrade Shi Yan [4258 6056], the person in charge of the creative group for the "Biography of Chen Yi," said to the writer that because our nation's older generation of revolutionaries and military people have all sorts of outstanding merits and all types of styles, the breakthrough in Chinese military literature could begin with "Literature of Generals and Leaders." This was a very accurate prediction. The writers of "The Heavier the Frost, the Deeper the Hue," its sister work "The Marshal Diplomat," and other such works are successively providing their responses. The publication of these works will not only bring even greater glory to the splendid achievements of the older generation of revolutionaries, but will also add new color to socialist literary art.

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HOLD ALOFT THE BANNER OF IDEALS--ON READING 'ESSAYS ON CONFIDENCE'

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[Book review by Yun Shan [0061 1472]]

[Text] "Essays on Confidence" is a collection of essays containing both random thoughts on life and random words on thought. It contains 191 selected pieces which have appeared in the RENMIN RIBAO supplement since 1980. They were written by old, middle-aged, and young people and they concern centering around and strengthening communist convictions, firmly supporting the four basic principles, eliminating theories of "uncertainty" and theories of "doubt," developing the communist style, establishing socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, correcting party work style and so on. These short essays touch on every aspect of life, directly relate to life, praise justice, point out the problems of the times, stress holding one's head high, have a strong sense of the times, and speak of what the people love and what they hate. The different essays proceed from different experiences and different angles. Some go the long way around to get at something close and overflow with comments. Some are satirical in their praise, while others are very clear in what they are advocating and what they are criticizing. Some are very concise, and precisely express the author's views. These works basically fuse ideology, knowledge and interest, and are very readable.

Although "Essays on Confidence" is divided into several parts, the spirit running through the book is ideals and the criteria for behavior which conforms with ideals. Ideals are the objective of struggle. They are a strength and an important part of life. The success or failure of ideals is the key to success or failure of the cause. This is the gist of the essays.

"Essays on Confidence" begins with "The Banner Cannot Be Furled" which explains, from both the angle of ideals and from the angle of practice, the importance of holding high the banner of communist ideals.

Only if the banner of communist ideals is held high will we be able to have firm trust, will we be able to master our own fate, and be able to obtain the best end results. "Essays" includes many examples of things which bring both happiness and sadness. Lain Fu, who returned to the mainland from Taiwan, as a communist fighter on the political front, as a doctor on the

academic front, and as a strongman on the physical level, underwent, for over 30 years, great tribulations and was subject to great humiliation. However, his ideals did not change and he became a communist fighter worthy of the name. The talented and splendid Communist Party members An Ke and Yang Wei, in the interests of the people, struggled against evildoers, acted selflessly, and became fighters who put their ideals into action.

Only by holding high the banner of communist ideals can one keep the overall situation in mind, be able to see farther and wider, be able to take on the present and inspire the future and keep the revolutionary cause eternally young. "Essays on Confidence" includes examples from Comrades Liu Lanbo and Yang Zhilin. Although they are aged and very sick, they have adhered to their principles and they have no misgivings. They have made great efforts in selecting and training young cadres. Comrade Yang Zhilin's words, "We are old, but we cannot let the revolutionary cause grow old too. If the revolutionary cause is to remain ever young, then we must allow young comrades to take on leadership work," are eminently sensible and very touching.

Only by lifting high the banner of communist ideals can we train skilled and knowledgeable people so that they are not seduced by material things or aroused by money, but contribute their skills and knowledge to the motherland. In "Essays" is described how after Wei Yu had obtained his electronics doctorate and the Bo-xie-er [3134 2957 1422] prize in the FRG and how after He Baoguang made an important breakthrough in researching a Type-B hepatitis vaccine in the United States, both refused foreign offers of money and positions and determined to return to China to contribute their knowledge and abilities to the four modernizations. Also, Wang Shurong gave up the opportunity for a doctorate so that he could study what China urgently needed and contribute quickly after he returned home. In respect of these people's spirit of patriotism, love of the cause, not wishing to become slaves of money, and wanting to become masters of life, "Essays" praises them with great feeling.

Only if revolutionaries hold high the banner of ideals can the recognition of ideals be changed into the real strength of ideals, and can the vitality of the revolution be preserved. Having no ideals is the same as not having a soul, which means that if the qualities which revolutionaries should have are missing, there will be no way by which to pass tests and the direction forward will be obscured. "Essays" makes a sad and angry dissection of those who believe communism "cannot be eaten and cannot be worn, so why should we treat it seriously," and those who say "communist philosophy is a philosophy of the future, the struggle for communism is like a distant song." These people are quick to furl their banner of ideals and can change from faith in Marxist philosophy to faith in the decadent philosophy of "man dies for money, birds die for food"; from adding bricks and tiles to the communist building to "removing bricks and tiles"; from the former ways of bringing happiness to others to "making great efforts to become an official, so that one has food to eat and clothes to wear"; and from "being ashamed at doing things for oneself" to becoming greedy and depraved.

In brief, "Essays on Confidence" is a book which publicizes the banner of communist ideals, increases knowledge, widens one's views, promotes goodness, speaks against evil and teaches people to struggle upward. The meaning of "confidence" in the title probably lies in that this book wakes up those who are "confused" and brings "confidence" to those liable to be "confused." From both the positive and negative sides, it tells us that as long as we hold high the banner of ideals, we will be able to achieve clear heads, be open and above-board, selfless, and will be able to adhere to our sworn course, and in this way progress toward the lofty goal of communism.

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